

THE SYMBOLISM
OF EARLY CHRISTIAN
AND BYZANTINE
BREAD STAMPS

GEORGE GALAVARIS

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN PRESS MADISON, MILWAUKEE, & LONDON

1970

BREAD AND THE LITURGY



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TO THE MEMORY OF
FRANZ J. DÖLGER

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PREFACE

The origins of the present study lie in a visit I paid some years ago to the Cleveland Museum of Art. Wandering in the museum's medieval collection I fell under the spell of an eastern "wooden mould for eucharistic wafer," and at that moment I committed myself to its study. But I was soon to realize that the Cleveland mould could not be studied alone. It had to be related to other objects of similar use, such as bread stamps, and, finally, to be placed within the framework of Christian worship. As my investigations progressed I realized their wider implications. My original purpose gradually acquired an audacity which compelled me time and again to cross from the path of one discipline to that of several others, from archaeology to theology, from church history to folklore, from literature to baking methods. I found no ultimate truths, but I think I observed the development of a fascinating picture, at once obscure and clear. What I saw were no longer stamps but an image, however incomplete, of the bread used in the rites of the Orthodox Church. It is the story of this bread that I tell here through the stamps, to try to contribute to our knowledge of the Early Christian eucharistic rites in general and of the Byzantine liturgy in particular.

This study is only a first step in that direction, and it could not have been attempted without the foundations laid out by various scholars

Preface

in the disciplines I stepped into. Above all, it is the work of Franz Joseph Dölger—who drew attention to the importance of bread stamps many years ago—that has been both a mine of information and an inspiration. I hope, however, that this first step will furnish points of departure for further research in this subject and will open paths for other areas of study.

The great interest in the Eastern Church that is currently evidenced in Europe and America has prompted me, in shaping this book, to consider not only the specialist but also the student and the layman who might desire to enrich their understanding of the liturgy of the Orthodox Church. If such readers derive some profit from this study, I shall be pleased.

All Bible quotations are taken from the King James version, whose numbering I have followed. The translations of the various texts are mine unless otherwise stated.

It has taken me a long time to complete the work. Library difficulties and academic duties have complicated my task. Political upheavals in various parts of the world have caused considerable delay in obtaining the necessary material, and in some cases expectations were disappointed. The war in the Middle East has made the acquisition of photographs from Cairo impossible.

Naturally, the work would never have been accomplished without the generous help and kindnesses of many friends here and abroad. Special thanks should go to: Professor Glanville Downey of Indiana University, who has read and criticized an early version of the manuscript and has constantly encouraged me; Dr. Josepha Weitzmann-Fiedler, who never tired of answering questions, supplying information and photographs, and stimulating me; Miss Hedwig Obrecht, Directress, and the Deutsches Brotmuseum at Ulm, West Germany, where my frequent—and always pleasant—visits were generously received; Dr. Manolis Chatzidakis, Director, and the Benaki Museum, Athens, for his many kindnesses and eagerness to share his vast knowledge, and the Museum's numerous courtesies; Mrs. Maria Galavaris Damianou, my sister, who has helped me in too many ways to mention here. I am also grateful to some anonymous readers and to the University of Wisconsin Press for very useful suggestions on improvement of the manuscript.

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G. G.

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BREAD AND THE LITURGY

1 INTRODUCTION

The ordinary word bread, which was to become exceptionally important in Christian worship, is found in several places in the Gospels. It appears in the story of the miracles of the loaves and fishes (Mark 6:35-44; 8:1-9); it occurs in Christ's eucharistic discourse concerning the bread from heaven which giveth life (John 6:32-35); and, of course, it plays a major part in the Last Supper, the religious meal that Christ had with his disciples during which He instituted the Eucharist. Accounts of this meal are given by three of the Evangelists (Matt. 26:26-29; Mark 14:22-25; Luke 22:15-20) and by Paul, who in fact is the oldest historical source since his account was probably written in the year 55 of our era.

Similarities and differences between these sources have caused endless discussions among scholars who wish to have as clear a picture as possible of the events of the Last Supper, to discover its exact nature and establish the meaning of the Eucharist. Opinions vary, but most scholars agree that the Last Supper was celebrated in the manner of meals of a religious nature in Jewish tradition. These were the Sabbath-Kiddûsh, usually performed on the eves of Sabbath and of certain religious festivals, and the Chabûrah.

As was the custom in such meals, the participants first were given water with which to wash one hand and then were served with wine and appetizers. It was expected that each participant should recite a prayer before he partook of anything. Thus Christ blessed his own cup, and after He gave thanks He passed the wine jug around and the disciples filled their cups.2 The main course that followed began with the blessing and breaking of the bread. "And as they did eat, Jesus took bread, and blessed, and brake it, and gave it to them, and said, Take, eat: this is my body" (Mark 14:22, also Matthew and Luke). The supper continued, and after it had come to an end the last cup of wine was brought to the host, who thanked God on behalf of all present (I Cor. 11:25; Luke 22:20). Christ, however, without tasting the wine, delivered the cup to the disciples, saying, "This cup is the new testament in my blood...." In this manner the Sacrament was instituted, and from then on the act of breaking bread in the Gospels was closely related to the presence of Christ. Luke records this in his account of the Supper at Emmaus: "And it came to pass, as he sat at meat with them, he took bread, and blessed it, and brake, and gave to them. And their eyes were opened, and they knew him" (Luke 24:30-31). His simple gesture of breaking bread made their Master recognizable to the disciples. And again when the Risen Lord appeared to six of his disciples on the shore of the Sea of Tiberias, He gave them bread and fish to eat (John 21:1-14).

The thanksgiving over the bread and wine, the breaking of the bread, and the distribution of both elements constituted the main part of the celebration of the Eucharist in its simplest form in the apostolic era. Around this bread and wine, the first Christians met to commune with Christ, the "Living Bread," and to discover His presence, as the disciples had done at Emmaus. So meaningful was the very act of breaking bread that until the second century the words fractio panis meant the Eucharist exclusively.

In the earliest years, since the Sacrament was delivered during a meal, it was natural for this meeting to be related to a common meal, the celebration of a love feast, an agape. Gradually the Breaking of the Bread became independent. The Acts of the Apostles and the letters of Paul indicate the circumstances of the celebration of the Sacrament. Usually the gathering took place in the evening in a private house. The service consisted of prayers and the teaching of the

apostles, and in general was patterned after the Last Supper. The picture, however, is not clear. It becomes clearer if we consider the account of a Sunday meeting at Troas in Asia Minor (Acts 20:5-12), the information of the *Didache* (a work written in the first generation after Paul, in Egypt or Syria),⁴ and Pliny's letter written in Bithynia (most probably between the years III and II3) to the emperor Trajan (Plin. Ep. 10. 96).

According to Pliny, it seems that there were two Christian meetings on Sundays: one took place at dawn, "ante lucem"; the other probably in the evening. In the first meeting, a hymn to Christ was chanted, "carmen Christo quasi deo." In the second, the participants ate food of an ordinary and pure kind, "...cibum, promiscum tamen et innoxium." This expression has been taken by some scholars to mean two meals: the Christian love feast, or agape, and the Breaking of the Bread. The morning meeting may have been devoted to prayers, singing, and sermons. In the later meeting, the Christians sat and ate together, expressing their spirit of unity, a custom which may have had its orgins in the Jewish meal of Sabbath, or in pagan meals.

During the agape, bread was offered as a matter of course. When the agape was over, those who had not received baptism left the meeting, and the others remained to participate in the Breaking of the Bread. They illuminated the place (Acts 20:8) and men and women confessed their sins and transgressions to the apostles. Then they gave each other a kiss of peace, following the exhortation of the Lord that each one who brought gifts to the altar should first reconcile himself with his brother (Matt. 5:23-24), and proceeded toward a table where they left their gifts: baskets of flour, grapes, oil for the lamps, bread, and wine. This custom foreshadowed the offertory that was to be incorporated in the liturgy. Part of this bread and wine was taken by the apostle, the bread was broken, and then both elements were consecrated. Then the apostle explained the institution of the Sacrament to the congregation (I Cor. 11:23) and the congregation uttered thanks: "just as this broken bread was scattered upon the mountains, but was brought together and became one, so let thy Church be gathered from the ends of the earth into thy Kingdom, for thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ for ever."5

One after the other, the participants approached the altar to receive the portions of the consecrated bread and to drink from the wine.



They returned to their places and all joyously chanted a hymn of thanks. It was this hymn of thanks which gave to the whole celebration the name Eucharist, and to the bread used for the Sacrament the adjective eucharistic. The celebration of the Eucharist ended with an invocation that clearly revealed the Early Christians' longing for the second coming of Christ.⁶

So the Early Church from its very first years gathered like one body around Christ, around the eucharistic bread and the wine which became the focus of the Christian liturgy and constituted the pledge of eternal life for the Christian. The Early Christians declared this thought on their tombs, which were often marked by this eucharistic bread, symbolically or realistically represented. It was a declaration of hope made by those who had departed from this life. In the short liturgy of the *Didache*, the Eucharist is considered to be the nourishment of eternal life; Saint Ignatius of Antioch (d. ca. 110) called it "the medicamen of immortality, and antidote of death," while Saint Clement of Alexandria (d. before 215) referred to it as "the provender of Eternal Life."

To be sure, bread was not used for the Communion only. The Church has used and still uses other kinds of bread in the liturgy and other religious rites; these other loaves should not be confused with the eucharistic bread, for they have not been consecrated. They usually have been blessed by the bishop or the celebrant, and the general term <code>ewlogia</code>, meaning blessing, has been applied to them. The most common uses of bread in the Church are mentioned here to prepare for an extensive discussion of them later and for the introduction of more specific terms.

As we have already noted, in the Early Church bread was distributed in the celebration of the agape; in the Byzantine church, bread was and is still today given to those who do not receive Communion at the end of the liturgy; bread was and is still distributed at great religious festivals and on many occasions which have a specific purpose, so that one can speak of bread of special purpose. For example, in the Early Church, special bread which had received special prayers and blessings was used for the sick. Another example is the bread that was served at funeral banquets, the refrigeria or refreshment meals, which the Christians took over from the pagans, in memory of departed Christians.

Our knowledge about these various religous breads, their forms, and their significance is derived mainly from texts and is incomplete, particularly with regard to the Early Church. Although there is enough literary evidence to enable liturgists to reconstruct the stages in the development of the celebration of the Eucharist since apostolic times, the texts of the Early Church do not give a detailed description of the bread used in the liturgy.

Probably the texts are silent because the forms and symbols were known to all and interpreted correctly. The use of bread in worship was delivered to the Christian communities by practice itself, before any formulation had found a place in the written documents. This is better understood if one remembers that the celebration of the Eucharist predates any written source. The Sacrament was celebrated as soon as a Christian group was formed. In Jerusalem, for example, the Eucharist was performed immediately after Pentecost, that is, twenty years or more before the writing of the Synoptics.

Other factors may account for this silence. Perhaps neither the form of the bread nor the symbols on it were considered to be of primary importance by the Fathers of the first centuries. They had more urgent matters to deal with: the defense of Christianity, the protection of believers from heretical thinking, and supporting the growth of the Church. It may also be that they intentionally avoided making public statements about the Sacrament, its elements, and exactly how it was performed, for security reasons. If, for instance, we consider the unfriendly attitude of the pagans toward the Christians, we can understand this very well. It was preferable to entrust the details of the celebration to oral tradition, as Tertullian, the second-century apologist, indicates. 9 Nevertheless, some suggestions about the form of the bread appear occasionally, but the information is not sufficiently detailed to give us a clear picture of the development of the use of bread in Christian worship and, consequently, of the various rites associated with its use. To obtain better insight into the actual rites of the Eucharist in specific Churches—and this is the heart of the problem—we must learn more about the actual bread, its forms, the development of its use, and its significance.

Just as the Christian archaeologist often finds solutions to his problems in the Christian liturgies, many problems concerning Christian worship have been solved as a result of archaeological investiga-

tions. Our case is similar. Our knowledge can be enriched if we present and examine archaeological evidence which has not as yet been systematically assembled and studied. The evidence consists of the stamps, most of which have been found in excavations, used for the eucharistic and related loaves of bread. However, before any presentation and analysis of the evidence is undertaken, we must become familiar with the nature of these objects and the ways in which they were used.

Nature and Use of Bread Stamps and Moulds

Since time immemorial man has been fascinated by the forms he could give to the bread he baked daily for his nourishment. In their desire to provide the dead with food and all the necessities for their existence in the afterlife, the Egyptians perpetuated the forms of bread as well. One can see them in frescoes painted on the walls of the tombs: round, oval, spiral forms, to mention the principal varieties.¹⁰ Some of the shapes were imparted freehand by the bakers, as is still done today in many parts of the world. In other cases, when more elaborate forms were desired, as in the case of pastries and cookies, certain utensils were used by the housewife or the baker. To give a loaf a particular form before it was placed in the oven, the dough of flat or leavened bread was pressed into or onto a container which could be deep or shallow. Often this mould was simply a flat block, made of wood, clay, stone, or other materials, which, when pressed against the dough, gave it a form or decorated it with the design carved upon the block. Designs, usually in a concave form, also were carved at the bottom of the mould-container. These became relief compositions when they were pressed upon the dough, or on butter. Such a mould was found in Athens several years ago. It has a representation of the façade of a temple, and some scholars consider it to be the oldest mould for cakes extant.11

The mould was not the only utensil employed. Using a stamp was simpler and more practical for a housewife who wished to decorate quickly her loaves of bread or pastry, whether intended for everyday consumption or religious purposes, with a certain ornament, sign, or symbol. Even the simple carved block-mould required the use of both

hands and greater attention in placing it upon the dough. This was not so with the stamp. Made of wood, clay, stone, or metal (usually bronze), it consisted of two parts: a flat surface, which could be of various geometric shapes, with the design usually engraved upon it, and a handle. The latter could be conical or in the form of a ring, not so much to accommodate one of the user's fingers as to provide an opening for a piece of string by means of which the stamp could be hung on the wall. The stamp was pressed lightly on the dough and there left its design. In the case of leavened bread, this had to be done before the dough began to rise because if it was done afterwards the surface of the dough would break when pressed, and the ornament or design would be reproduced distorted.

The differentiation between a mould and a stamp is made clearer if one looks at a picture, again an Egyptian fresco, which has been published and discussed several times (Fig. 1). It depicts a bakery of the Pharaoh Rameses III (ca. 1200-1168 B.C.).12 On the left there are two men kneading the dough with their feet. In the next episode the dough is being carried to a table where one man gives it a form. On the right side of the table the finished product is shown. The dough has been given the shape of an animal, obviously by means of a mould and not a stamp. Above the table other loaves are shown in round and triangular forms. The latter form recalls actual bread, known as barley bread, seen today in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, dating from about 1500 B.C., and an older piece, ca. 2000 B.C., in the British Museum, London.¹³ In the same fresco, higher on a shelf, there is, according to some interpreters, a series of round pastry moulds; other scholars see in them round stamps.14 In the following scene a baker shapes the dough into a spiral which is to be cooked on a frying pan, presumably in fat or oil. To the extreme right a cylindrical oven is depicted, and on the small table at the end there are round loaves of bread—repeated elsewhere in the fresco—which could have been formed by either a mould or a stamp.

Ovens and Baking Methods

The custom of stamping the bread with a stamp or a mould was continued by the Christians, who, judging from extant examples, seemed to prefer stamps (whose dimensions vary from 3 to 21 cm.)

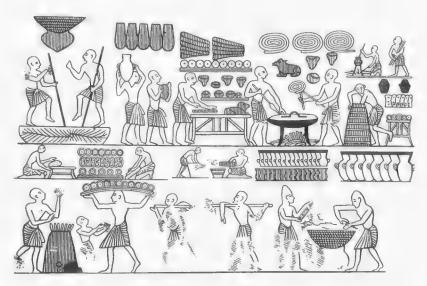


Fig. 1.—Bakery of Rameses III, ca. 1200-1168 B.C., Egyptian fresco. Reproduced by permission, from Walther Adrian, So wurde Brot aus Halm und Glut (Bielefeld, 1959), fig. 58.

to moulds. The early Christians also followed the same baking methods of antiquity shown in the Egyptian fresco described above.

Bread was baked in ovens which, in antiquity, were mainly of two types. The one illustrated in the bakery of Rameses became known in Greece as κλίβανος or κρίβανος, and in Rome as klibanus. It was conical, made of clay, and heated by fire placed on the outside. The bread baked in it was known as panis klibanicius.15 More common, however, was the type of oven known to us from actual examples, like the one extant in Pompeii, or from clay models, like those preserved in the British Museum dating from the fifth century B.C. (Figs. 2, 3), or from representations like the oven depicted on the tombstone of the Roman baker Euricases, near the Porta Maggiore in Rome, dating from the second quarter of the first century B.C. (Fig. 4). A spherical structure covering a stone slab is the main feature of this type. In small ovens the fire can be placed underneath the slab, as shown in the Boeotian model (Fig. 3). In the case of large structures the fire is set inside the spherical space, the smoke coming out of a small opening at the back. The Greeks and the Romans were of the



Fig. 2.—Model oven, terra cotta, 5th century B.C., Greek from Dardanus. Photo by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Introduction



Fig. 3.—Woman baking, terra cotta, 5th century B.C., Greek from Boeotia. Photo by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

opinion that the best bread was the one baked in a *klibanus*. Bread baked in ovens, they thought, was difficult to digest. The Christians, however, preferred ovens, which were essential to a house or a monastery throughout the Middle Ages. 17

Usually, fragrant wood was burned, and when the oven was hot the coals were pushed to the sides, the slab was cleaned of ashes with a piece of cloth, and the loaf or loaves of bread were placed directly



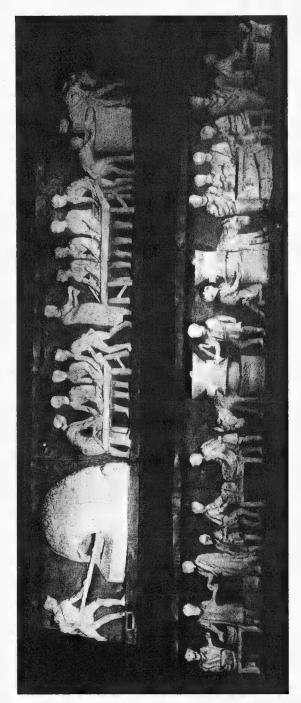


Fig. 4.—Baking, relief, 1st century A.D., from the tomb of Euricases, Rome. Cast of the original. Photo by courtesy of Saalburgmuseum

on it. My illustration (Fig. 5) shows clearly the persistence of this type to this day in the East. Similar, however, is the case in the West. The type of ancient oven can be recognized in an illustration of a monastic bakery in the *Hausbuch* of Mendelschen of the year 1509, now in the State Library of Nuremberg. A later, though more elaborate, example adhering to the same tradition and baking principles is provided by a print made in Paris about 1860 (now in the Brotmuseum at Ulm) depicting Saint Honoré, the patron saint of bakers.

Types of Bread

The same baking method and ovens were used by the Christians for both their daily bread and that which was to be used in worship. It must be made clear that (contrary to practices today in the West) in the Early Christian centuries and in all eastern rites through the ages, except in the Armenian church, the bread used for the Church did not differ from ordinary bread in substance. From the beginning leavened bread was used. Even the Armenians before the seventh century and the Maronites before their union with Rome in the twelfth century used leavened bread. The practice of using unleavened bread

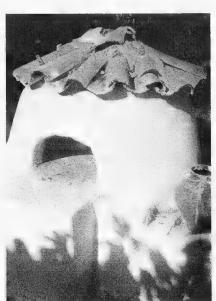


Fig. 5.—Contemporary oven, Kifissia, Athens. Photo by courtesy of A. Damianos.

for the Eucharist was introduced to the West much later. Among the earliest written accounts is that given by Alcuin (A.D. 798) and his disciple Rabanus Maurus. After this the altar bread took the light, waferlike form, achieved with pressing irons (Fig. 6), so common today.²⁰

Although the use of ordinary bread for worship was customary, special attention was paid to the quality of the bread. Hagiographic texts of the Greek Middle Ages often mention a type of bread known as $\tilde{\alpha}\rho\tau\sigma$ 0 ($\kappa\alpha\theta\alpha\rho\sigma$ 0), pure loaves which existed since ancient times. In Rome it was known as *panis siligineus* and was made of high quality flour finely ground and carefully sifted through silk sieves. This was the bread to be used in the Church or given to the sick.²¹

It could not have been simply the different flour that distinguished one type of bread from another. The designs impressed upon the loaves, or even the forms themselves, must have suggested at one time or another particular uses of the bread, as they still do to this day. Two examples come from different parts of the world. Some of us may be familiar with cookies in the form of a series of arches representing the route the sun takes from morning to night. These signify the advent of the New Year, and they are still produced in some parts of Germany today; examples can be seen in the collection of Professor Paul Pelshenke at Detmold. Or we may know of the Christmas bread with the image of the Infant Jesus impressed on it by means of a mould, made in Palermo and found in the Museo delle Tradizioni Popolari at Palmi (Reggio Calabria). In this example the impression associates the bread with the festival, while in the former example the design includes ideas that go back to pagan practices and the worship of the sun.

It is clear from these two examples, chosen at random, that the impressions on bread can tell us a great deal about the story of a particular type of bread—in our case, that used in the Christian Church. The actual impressions have long ago vanished, but a number of stamps and moulds with which the impressions were produced have survived, and these form the subject of the present study.

Dates and Provenience of Stamps

My discussion is based on the compositions impressed upon the bread, and since the stamps numerically surpass the moulds the word stamp

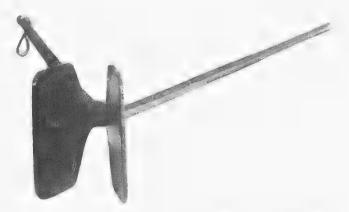


Fig. 6.—Irons for eucharistic wafer, length ca. 23 cm., modern, Maronite Church, Beirut. Photo by courtesy of Père Elias, Shemlan, Lebanon.

is used throughout. But whenever a mould is introduced into the discussion, it is always indicated as such. It has not been my intention to include all extant bread stamps. Only representative examples have been chosen that illustrate the various sacred breads and their uses, and contribute to our knowledge of Early Christian and Byzantine rites. The period studied begins with A.D. I but does not end in 1453 when Constantinople was lost to the Turks. Although political historians traditionally use 1453 to mark the end of Byzantine history, historians of the eastern Churches cannot do so, for the Byzantine rite has survived in the Orthodox Churches to the present. Thus, although the majority of our examples date to Byzantine times, the evidence of the post-Byzantine-the Greek and other Orthodox Churches, such as the Russian Orthodox, which adhere to the Byzantine rite—has been considered and some modern examples have been included, in order to achieve a more nearly complete picture of the development of the use of bread in the Byzantine rite to the present day. With one exception, no Latin stamps have been included, as these should be studied separately within the setting of the Latin liturgies that began to develop in the fourth century in the West.

All the stamps studied in this book were found in excavations carried out in the Mediterranean area since the late nineteenth century.

17

processes of preservation resulted in a disparity of objects, and the lost ones undoubtedly outnumber those which have been preserved.

Problems in Studying the Stamps

Whatever the reasons for the larger number of earlier examples and the circumstances of their survival, these objects have—apart from their use—other common characteristics: they are small and unpretentious, and they have had a common fate. They are unglamorous and, like many other so-called Christian minor objects, have not always received the consideration of the excavator, who was either treasure-hunting or looking for the Greece of the fifth century B.C. Some of them have not even received the proper attention of museum curators, and there have been examples classified among objects of "a prehistoric period."

Even in the case of stamps that did not meet with ill luck, the eager scholar who attempts to understand them encounters the lack of primary literature on them and the difficulties involved in distinguishing bread stamps from other stamps used for a variety of purposes by both pagans and Christians.²² A picture, however condensed and general, of the other types of stamps must be given here. It is only by formulating the characteristics of the various stamps, and through careful comparisons and considerations—and often by excluding other possibilities—that one can arrive at a plausible classification of the available material. My selection has been based on these precepts.

Bricks and tiles used in construction or for other purposes in Greek and Roman times were stamped, a custom that was continued by the Christians. Stamped tiles and bricks found in several parts of the ancient world show impressions that are usually rectangular or circular; other forms containing inscriptions or an emblem are also encountered.²³ The inscriptions often have the names of Greek *aediles*, or magistrates, or other references to the workshop and the owner of the estate from which the clay for the production of tiles or bricks was taken. The simplest of these have just the name of the maker. The names are quoted in the genitive case. Christian tiles are similar, mostly rectangular with names in the genitive and with occasional inscriptions. Tiles were also used for military purposes—this is common in the

The earliest examples, none of which can be accurately dated before the fourth century of our era, have been unearthed in North Africa, particularly in Christian Egypt. Excavations at Achmim-Panopolis have yielded a large number of Christian stamps, some of which can be identified as bread stamps; these have found their way into various museums and collections in Egypt and in Europe. Others have been unearthed in Palestine at important Early Christian sites. Asia Minor has also been a source, and Ephesus, that renowned city of Hellenistic and Christian antiquity, has yielded some examples to the excavator; these too are now in museums and private collections in Europe. Constantinople, the capital of the Byzantine empire, has also provided a number of examples, but undoubtedly there are many more that have been lost. Excavations in Greece have added stamps to the Museums in Athens and Thessalonica. Systematic excavations or accidental finds in southern Italy, an important area of the Byzantine rite, have unearthed more stamps that are now in various local museums in Apulia and in library collections. A number of the stamps have met with ill luck. No details of their discovery are known; no specifications are given in museum records; for some there are no records at all.

The majority of extant examples unearthed in the various sites are dated prior to the tenth century. This chronological distribution may be explained by the fact that the continual destruction of cities with their churches and other religious establishments by the numerous invasions—particularly in North Africa and the eastern part of the Mediterranean—which marked the early part of Byzantine history, caused the eventual burial of whatever had existed above ground. To a certain extent, this effected the preservation of a large number of objects that were subsequently brought to light through excavations.

But wherever life went on, and wherever cities survived attacks and invasions—and on the whole this was the case after the tenth century—objects were preserved in many ways. Some stamps may have been used from one generation to another—there is such an example in the monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai; others must have passed into private hands either to be lost or to turn up in museums; still others may exist unnoticed and unknown. These

later Roman period—with inscriptions containing names and titles of the various legions.

Stamps made of stone or bronze were also used in antiquity and in Christian times to impress a device on a wine amphora, usually on the tops of the handles, or on the side of the jar.²⁴ This was done while the clay was still fresh before the jar was fired in the kiln. The impressions that have survived show the use of rectangular or circular stamps containing a name cited in the genitive—normally the name of an official appointed annually—a way of stating a date in antiquity. These "dates" probably served to control and verify the capacity of the jar as well as to date the contents, an important detail in the wine trade. Specifically on Christian amphora stamps, the trade-mark, inscribed within a rectangle, in relief or intaglio, may be a Christian symbol, the chrism or one of the various forms of the cross, or simply a name.

Stamps were also used to impress marks upon amphora stoppers, which were often made of gypsum poured in a liquid condition into the mouth of the vase over its contents. In this case the appropriate term would be *seal* rather than stamp.²⁵ These amphora stoppers may have a monogram or a symbol, presumably that of the exporter, whether Christian or pagan, depending on the period. In Christian examples the cross is a common symbol. At times the seven-branched candlestick occurs, or a name cited in the genitive, nominative, or dative, or an inscription which, it has been suggested, was a memorandum of the contents of the amphora. The inscription might be a well-wishing expression of a general character, as *in Deo vivas*.

Finally, other everyday objects on which stamps were used were oil lamps made of terra cotta. At the bottom of the lamps one reads a name in the genitive, such as Neri or Vibiani, to mention two such names commonly found on lamps in the Vatican Museum.

The student of Christian bread stamps must therefore try to determine which stamps found in excavations or preserved in museums were actually intended for bread. In attempting to solve the problem, the student has no precise boundaries to follow. He receives limited help from the material of which the stamp is made, since only those made of wood can be definitely associated with bread dough; used on clay or other materials, wooden stamps would not have survived.

Limited too, though by no means insignificant, is the help given by the form and size of the stamp. It is possible to have a small stamp impressed upon the center of a large loaf of bread, or a large stamp covering the entire surface of a loaf; nevertheless, form and size can be valuable criteria for excluding other possibilities. Too large a stamp, for example, could not be used on a vase. A far more important clue is the inscription or the symbol, or both, although here too the possibility of error cannot be excluded. A case in point is a clay stamp found at Carthage and published by Delattre. On the basis of the inscription some have considered it not only a bread stamp but one specifically intended for eucharistic bread. Others have argued against this view and suggested that it may be an amphora stamp.26 Yet, despite the possibility of error, the study of the symbol on a stamp, whether it is inscription, representation, or sign, is a more valid criterion than other characteristics in determining the stamp's use. The general features of other types of stamps, cited above, have made this clear. The symbol should first be studied by itself, then related to parallel examples, and its presence or absence among stamps and impressions must be thoroughly investigated. Its absence, for example, from among hundreds of impressions preserved on vases may be the decisive factor in determining the final choice.

Having decided which stamps should be considered bread stamps the student must distinguish those intended for common bread from those which were for bread used in religious rites.27 Then he must determine the kind of consecrated bread for which "sacred" stamps were intended. This is a serious problem, since it is difficult to ascertain whether or not loaves of bread intended for various uses in Christian worship were differentiated by distinct symbols impressed on them, and whether the people who presented these loaves recognized any distinction in meaning. For example, in the Early Church, the Testamentum Domini, a work of the fourth or fifth century, which probably originated in Monophysite circles in Syria, referring to the oblatio sacrificii, specifies that the bishop should offer three loaves of bread as a symbol of the Holy Trinity on Saturdays. On Sundays he should offer four loaves of bread as a symbol of the four Gospels.28 Did each of these loaves have a special stamp that indicated different symbolism? And how can one accurately date the actual stamps? This

becomes an important question, especially when excavators have not recorded their finds with precision.

Even if the archaeological records are complete, the problem of dating the stamps is a difficult one. The sacredness of stamps intended for bread which was to be consecrated or otherwise used in church created a reverence for them which might have resulted in the repetition of symbols from one period to another. This reverence, better understood in terms of traditionalism, must have also affected the style of the representations appearing on such stamps.

In attempting to find solutions to these problems, we must again state that the sources, despite the help they give us, do not provide adequate information. Neither literary evidence concerning the actual rites of the Eucharist in the Early Church nor representations of relevant subjects—such as the celebration of the agape, the Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes prefiguring the eucharistic Supper,29 or Last Supper or Communion scenes in Early Christian and Byzantine monuments—taken by themselves, contribute essentially to our knowledge of what stamps were used for the several kinds of liturgical bread. The examples mentioned above usually show a rounded loaf stamped with a Greek cross, 30 or a Christogram, or a circle. Other examples appear to be in the form of a chaplet, that is, a loaf twisted like a braid and then wound into a circlet.31 Among other instances, such loaves can be seen in two mosaics at Ravenna (Fig. 91 shows one of these mosaics). In the West, this kind of loaf is known as the corona, a term used by Gregory the Great (590-604) and known since the third century. The term has survived in a hymn of the Syrian rite, in which the eucharistic bread is referred to as "crowns." In the represented examples, the central hole of the crown is filled, and either a floral motif or a cross is in the center of each disk. Such representations should not be accepted as literal unless correlated evidence is provided for their interpretation, since they may be conventional and may constitute abbreviations of more complicated forms and symbols.

To distinguish the various types of bread stamps we must therefore consider the symbols on the stamps and relate these findings to whatever evidence we receive from literary and pictorial sources, as well as from contemporary usages in eastern Churches, since many of the early customs have continued to the present day. In addition, an examination of the inscriptions from the paleographical point of view is important to dating the stamps. Stylistic comparisons and careful consideration of the manner of the lettering between dated or datable monuments and undated ones often lead to a plausible date.

Iconography, contemporary usages, and paleography are thus the primary means and tools I have used to reach logical solutions to the various problems. These tools to a large extent predetermine my method of presentation as well, for iconography means, most of all, a thematic grouping—not necessarily a chronological one—of the items being discussed and often a lengthy analytical study of each item. Since it is easier to start with simple matters and proceed to progressively more complicated ones, I shall first discuss stamps with symbols of a general and conventional character whose particular use cannot be specified. Then I shall discuss stamps whose representations are more complicated and for which one can find special significance, eucharistic or otherwise. The results of this analysis are synthesized in the final chapter, where the stamps and the bread they represent are discussed in the setting of the Byzantine liturgy.

2 FROM PAGAN TO CHRISTIAN BREAD STAMPS

Bread for Gods and Their Festivals

In antiquity, bread and cakes that were to be used for religious purposes were given various forms or had designs pressed upon them relating the bread directly to the deity for whom it was destined or revealing the purpose for which the bread was offered. Theocritus $(Idyl\ 15.\ 115-117)$ sings of the feast of Adonis in Hellenistic Alexandria:

... and O, there is every cake
That ever woman kneaded of bolted meal so fair
With blossoms blent of every scent or oil or honey rare
Here's all outlaid in semblance made of every bird and beast.¹

The cakes in the form of flowers, birds, and animals were intended to remind the worshipers of the relation of Adonis to nature which blooms and rejoices at his return.

Two examples from Hellenistic Egypt were reported by Plutarch in his book on the cult of Isis and Osiris, the two most important Egyptian deities. Speaking of Osiris' brother, the evil god Typhon-Seth, a donkey figure, whom the sound of Isis' bell could keep away, Plutarch said that the inhabitants of Busiris and Lycopolis at their sacrifices on certain occasions offered cakes on which there was represented a tied

donkey.² Further on, Plutarch stated and explained the embodiments of this wicked god: the donkey, the crocodile, and the hippopotamus. The first was associated with Typhon because it was considered to be the most ignorant of domestic animals, while the other two were related to him because in fierceness they surpassed all other wild animals. The hippopotamus, also tied, was formed on cakes offered on the seventh day of the month of Tybi, called the day of the arrival of Isis from Phoenicia.³

There is no doubt that the tied donkey and hippopotamus on the cakes were offered to the god as a propitiation intended to exorcise evil and enchain Typhon's powers. In other words, not only did such a cake with the moulded or stamped animal remind pilgrims of the story of Isis and Osiris and the wickedness of Typhon, but it also expressed their wish to keep evil away.

In other instances the cake might have the simple symbols of the deity. For example, the oldest extant mould with representations, found in Athens, shows the attributes of chthonian deities, probably those worshiped at Eleusis: torches, a dog, an omphalos, flowers.⁵ Attributes of other deities and relevant connotations could be discovered by a systematic study of the repertory of the various pagan stamps that have survived.⁶ (Fig. 7 illustrates two pagan stamps.)

Deities such as Isis, Demeter, and Persephone who were firmly entrenched in the religious beliefs of the ancients were not the only ones who were offered bread. Newly appointed gods also received, among their offerings, bread with an appropriate impression. Berenice, daughter of King Ptolemy III Euegertes (247–221 B.C.) of the Hellenistic kingdom of Egypt, was proclaimed a goddess when she died. In the decree of Kanopos, which established her cult, a section concerned the bread given to the wives of the priests who served the new goddess. The bread should have a special mark and be called the Bread of Berenice. What exactly this mark was, we do not know. It is possible, as Perdrizet has suggested, that her likeness in profile, as on a coin, or her name with an appropriate adjective was impressed on this bread by a stamp.

Very often, however, bread or cakes could be a substitute for a real gift that was to be offered to the deity, as a fable by Aesop shows: "A man poor and ill and badly off promised to the gods a public





Fig. 7.—Casts of terra-cotta bread stamps, diam. II cm., late Hellenistic from Egypt. Photos by courtesy of the Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum, Hildesheim.

sacrifice of one hundred oxen.... Because he could not afford real oxen he made one hundred of them with flour and burnt them upon an altar saying: 'Here is the fulfillment of my vow, O gods.'''9

Similar substitutes were recorded by the historian Herodotus. Egyptians who could not afford to sacrifice a real pig to the moon could offer a substitute made of dough. The custom continued in Greco-Roman times, when the god Saturn could accept bread in the form of an animal as a substitute for the real offering. Once more, study of the collections of actual pagan stamps with figures of animals may enliven and further illuminate the customs reported by literary sources.

The worshipers, as well as the gods, could be given bread. In this case the bread was not a symbol of the worshiper's participation in a religious ceremony, or a token of the deity's acceptance of the offered sacrifice, but a means of passing on to the believer some of the gifts the deity bestowed upon him.

Herondas (ca. 270-250 B.C.) describes an offering made by two women to the temple of Asklepios at Kos.12 One of them brings a votive image, the other a rooster. Both offerings are graciously accepted by the god. One of the women asks her servant to cut a big piece of the rooster for the sacristan and tells her that the remaining part should be eaten among themselves. She also reminds the servant not to forget to bring the hygieia (literally, "health"); another passage tells us exactly what this hygieia was: a bread of flour, olive oil, and wine. It was associated with Asklepios, the god of health, and was either eaten during the sacrifice or distributed then and eaten at home, where it brought a cure to sufferers or protected those who partook of it against sickness. This bread was marked with a stamp whose nature varied according to the sanctuary and circumstances, probably carrying just the word hygieia, as extant stamps show. Obviously this stamp made clear to the recipient the meaning of the bread. In other instances bread of special purposes was distributed on festivals, in which case the form or the impressions upon the bread made direct reference to the festival.

The Greek writer Athenaeus of Naucratis (ca. A.D. 200), in his book entitled Deipnosophistai ("Connoisseurs in Dining") presented learned men conversing rather boringly about practically every aspect of food, among other topics. A few examples of the delicacies they describe will suffice here. During banquets held exclusively for ladies in Laconia, cakes were prepared in the form of a woman's breast. They were taken around when the encomion of a young virgin was to be sung. Also at the Elaphebolia, a festival held at Athens in the month of Elaphebolion (March-April) in honor of Artemis, goddess of the hunt and of game, special cakes made of dough, honey, and sesame were offered to the deity. Their name was elaphos (deer), derived from the name of the festival itself, and perhaps also from a representation of a deer stamped on them. In Syracusae, Sicily, at the festival of Thesmophoria, a woman's festival connected with fertility rites, cakes of sesame and honey were given the form of a woman's genitals. They were known all over Sicily as μυλλοί and were carried about for the honor of the goddesses.13

These examples show that the pagans stamped their religious bread with an image or symbols of the god with whom the bread was associated, or symbols that constituted an invocation, or a simple inscription telling the purpose of the bread. These pagan customs were to penetrate Christian observance and make their contribution to the various types of bread used by the Christian Church, as we shall see later.

Impressions were not limited to religious bread. They decorated bread that was baked, bought, and consumed every day. It was the marks upon this everyday bread that were first Christianized.

When Vesuvius erupted in A.D. 79, it buried Pompeii, which, like any other city, had bakeries; one such bakery remained for centuries under the petrified ashes of Vesuvius until it was brought back to light. Its loaves of bread, carbonized but otherwise intact, can be seen today in the archaeological museum of Naples. One of them, divided into eight parts by incised lines, has the following inscription impressed on it by means of a stamp: CELERIS · Q · GRANI/VERI · SER[VUS] (Fig. 8). The importance of this inscription in the study of Greek and Roman trade and the development of the trade-mark has already been pointed out by scholars. 14 For us it is significant as a real example of a bread loaf from which we learn the form of the bread and the particular type of stamp used, which obviously must not have been exclusive to Pompeii. Marked by eight divisions, this is the bread known in Greek times as ἄρτος ὀκτάβρωμος, "eight-partite bread." Another loaf bears a circular stamp containing two crossed lines and, in each of the four segments of the circle, a triangle and two dots. This stamp probably had a decorative function.

Using these actual loaves, we can compare examples represented in works of art and obtain a fuller picture of the variety of forms given bread and a better understanding of their "Christianization." The eight-partite bread is shown in a number of frescoes from Pompeii, now in the Archaeological Museum of Naples (such as no. 8638 and no. 9071, the latter depicting a bakery; see Fig. 9). The only difference between the various loaves is that the hole, existing in the real example, has been reduced to a small dot in the depicted example. The number of divisions varies; in Roman reliefs one sees loaves divided into three parts (a type known as panis trifidus) and loaves bearing incisions in



Fig. 8.—Carbonized bread from Pompeii, 1st century A.D. Museo Nazionale, Naples. Photo by courtesy of the Soprintendenza alle antichità della Campania.

the form of two crossed lines that create four parts. The latter type, because of its division, is known as ἄρτος κοδρίτης, quadra, panis quadratus, or panis decussatus. It is a type of bread whose existence is confirmed by various writers, including Horace.¹⁵

Other types have existed, as we can deduce from literary sources and representations. Cato the Censor wrote a book in which one can find interesting recipes for *placenta*, cakes with cheese and honey; *libum*, a cake with milk, oil, and honey-icing, often used for offerings to the gods; and *erneum*, a type of cake baked in an earthen pot. Though the exact amounts of ingredients are given, the forms of these cakes are not specified. In one case Cato refers to a *panem depsticium* (that is, kneaded bread or a twist), which constituted a finer type of bread and is given various forms in the represented examples.¹⁶

If we move a few centuries ahead into Christian times, we find that some of the pagan forms of bread have survived. The panis quadratus is recognized in several Christian examples, especially on sarcophagi and tombstones.¹⁷ In a representation of the Mass in the eleventh-century frescoes in the lower church of Saint Clement in Rome, a man and a woman present bread in the form of hoops, recalling the twists of the pagans (Fig. 89). As yet we do not know whether these Christian representations correspond to reality, nor do we know their meaning. But whether or not they correspond to reality, they are undeniably



Fig. 9.—Bakery, fresco from Pompeii. Museo Nazionale, Naples. Photo by courtesy of the Soprintendenza alle antichità della Campania.

related to pagan bread in the correspondence of their forms and marks.

The meaning of the marks, however, is different: In the pagan bread the lines show the parts into which the loaf was divided; they had the practical purpose of facilitating the cutting of the bread. Though this function can still be performed in the Christian examples, the mark in even the simplest representation has a religious significance which conceptually relates the Christian loaves to the religious bread of the pagans. The pagan symbol on a loaf of bread destined for a god was related to the deity. So is the Christian sign. The bread bears a symbol related to Christ—the cross—whether formed by two intersecting lines or designed as such and pressed upon the loaf. Clearly then, Christian bread stamps must be studied against the background of their pagan predecessors.

The Earliest Symbols on Christian Bread

The gentiles who were converted to Christianity were already accustomed to buying from their bakeries common bread with a stamped trade-mark on it or bread of a special form. They were accustomed to making cakes for special purposes, to be offered to the gods they believed in before they embraced their new faith, cakes marked with representations related to their purpose or to the god to whom they were offered. They were also accustomed to believing in the magic powers of some bread, such as the hygieia bread which gave health to its recipients. When they accepted the new religion, it would have been difficult for them to reject their old customs immediately, especially since bread had such an important place in Christian worship. They probably continued their established tradition, using, of course, symbols more suitable to the new religion.

But even the adoption of new symbols did not come quickly. While the Christians were under persecution they could not declare their faith in plain and well-understood symbols for all to see. They must have used, both for their own consumption and for the oblations (in the Early Church the communicants presented their own loaves of bread, a custom which has continued in the Byzantine rite), 18 bread with either pagan symbols that could be given a Christian meaning,



or signs altogether cryptic. These were not years of peace and religious freedom.

Uncompromising Christian scenes could not be used in their houses, in their jewelry, or even on their clothes. Even the cross, which became the supreme symbol of redemption for the Christian, had to be disguised, since for the non-Christian the cross was a symbol of shameful death until A.D. 315, when Constantine abolished crucifixion as a death penalty.19 A disguise was easily supplied to the Christians, however, by the pagan bread, the panis quadratus. There is no doubt that this was the bread the Christians bought in bakeries, both for their food and for their oblations. It offered to them the advantages of having the sign of the cross on it and of protection as well, because it was freely sold and it could not arouse the suspicion of the authorities. But a new, Christian meaning was given to the cross of the panis quadratus which, as we have already seen, the pagans had used only to designate the number of pieces into which the bread was to be cut. If the angle of the two lines was slightly changed, the letter X, standing for Christ, resulted. Indeed one sees such a differentiation, hardly noticeable to the uninitiated, on a fourth-century Christian sarcophagus at Arles. Two loaves of bread shown side by side in a basket of bread are marked, one by the simple cross, the other by the X.20

Other easily obtainable types of bread could carry disguised Christian meanings. The pagan bread divided into six or eight parts could easily be changed into Christ's monogram, while the panis trifidus, with its three divisions, could become a symbol of the Holy Trinity. In fact, A. Franz and F. J. Dölger have come to the conclusion that the latter must have been the type of loaf which Paulinus, bishop of Nola (d. A.D. 431), sent to his friend Alypius, assuring him that it carried a symbol of the Trinity.²²

All these transformations were brought about by using the designs that were on ordinary pagan loaves. Simple decorative motifs that had a long tradition could be vehicles of Christian meaning. A rosette, for example, could embody a cross, or a cross be hidden behind a rosette. Such an intention may perhaps be seen in a terra-cotta stamp from Achmim-Panopolis, now in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva (no. D910), possibly of a sixth-century date (Fig. 10).²³



Fig. 10.—Terra cotta, diam. 7.5 cm., 6th century, from Achmim-Panopolis. Photo by courtesy of the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva.

Symbols not easily understood by non-Christians, other than the cryptic cross, must have also been used. The earliest extant Christian stamps prove this supposition, but it is impossible to date them with precision. Though they can be assigned to a period between the fourth century and the end of the seventh, we can be sure that they reflect symbols introduced in earlier years. Most of them have come from Christian Egypt, and they are located now in Cairo, Berlin, Geneva, London, and Toronto, among other places. With a few exceptions known to me that are rectangular, all these stamps are circular and bear symbols in relief or in intaglio. Some of these symbols are related directly to Christ, an example being the fish, so commonly used, to which we shall return later. The words ΦωC ZωH ("Light," "Life") appear usually in monogram form.24 Perhaps these words can be read in a rectangular stamp from Egypt, now in the Benaki Museum at Athens (no. 89), dating from the fifth century (Fig. 11). The words are reversed and accompanied by a cross, which definitely makes the stamp Christian. One can also read the letters KX, which perhaps stand for K[YPIOC] X[PICTOC], the Lord Christ. On the upper part next to the word $\Phi\omega C$ (?), there are three other letters, one nearly effaced; the other two are B Δ , whose meaning escapes me. The stamp is crowned by a branch of wheat which makes clear its use.

Symbols referring to the Church are used, like the dove engraved on a stamp from Achmim-Panopolis (Fig. 12).²⁵ (This stamp, no. D912, and all other examples of the same provenance cited below are



Fig. 11.—Terra cotta, 14.5 \times 8 cm., 5th century, from Egypt. Photo by courtesy of the Benaki Museum, Athens.

located in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva.) The bird can take an abstract decorative form, and with a feeling for a horror vacui present in the composition, it bears little resemblance to a dove, as another example shows (no. D908; Fig. 13).

The idea of the Holy Trinity, whose theological formulation occupied the Church considerably, had a place on bread stamps. Usually it was represented in the form of two intersecting triangles forming a star or a hexagram enclosing another triangle or a cross, as Figure 14 (no. D913) illustrates; or the star could take the form of a rosette with nine points as seen in Figure 15 (no. D909).²⁶

Other symbols or combinations of symbols conveying the idea of paradisian bliss, immortality, and related subjects also occur. In some stamps from Egypt (sixth or seventh century) published by Wulff, various types of animals appear. We may have here a remnant of the pagan cult of sacred animals that was particularly strong in Egypt. But animals have appeared on the floors of early Christian churches where, among trees and rivers conveying the idea of Paradise, lions, gazelles, peacocks, birds, and roosters meet; similar representations are found in other Christian objects, like the chair of the bishop Maximian, in Ravenna. The symbolic meaning of these compositions may prompt us to seek a relevant significance in the individual animals that appear on stamps. The results of this effort would be uncertain. The deer, for example, which appears on a wooden stamp of uncertain date, now in



Fig. 12.—Terra cotta, diam. 7 cm., ca. 6th century, from Achmim-Panopolis. Photo by courtesy of the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva.



Fig. 13.—Terra cotta, diam. 6.5 cm., ca. 6th century, from Achmim-Panopolis. Photo by courtesy of the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva.



Fig. 14.—Terra cotta, diam. 6.5 cm., ca. 6th century, from Achmim-Panopolis. Photo by courtesy of the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva.



Fig. 15.—Terra cotta, diam. 7.5 cm., ca. 6th century, from Achmim-Panopolis. Photo by courtesy of the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva.

the Berlin collections, may have a hidden meaning, perhaps eucharistic.²⁷

When symbols are combined, the possibility of a hidden meaning is stronger. In a cylindrical wooden stamp with two faces (a not unusual characteristic) from Achmim-Panopolis, of sixth- or seventh-century date, now in the British Museum (no. 90-7-1-7), one sees on the one side a lion rampant with his head turned back (Fig. 16). A small cross is in front of the breast. More than one meaning can be suggested here. The lion may be an allusion to Christ. A simpler idea, often found in the writings of the Desert Fathers, would be that even wild animals retreat before the power of the cross. The other face of the stamp shows Solomon's seal with a star in the center. The entire stamp, therefore, may be interpreted as alluding to the Trinity on the one side, and the triumph of Christ on the other. The images are sunk, which means that the design would have been impressed on the loaf in relief.28 Another stamp from Achmim-Panopolis, published by Forrer in Strasbourg, depicts a palm and a cross, evidently meaning victory in Christ.29

The seven-branched candlestick, the Jewish menorah, is also found.³⁰ The early Christian Fathers gave it a new meaning: they saw it as a symbol of Christ, the Light of the World. On a spool-shaped limestone stamp from Egypt or Palestine of a third- or fourth-century date, now at the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto (no. 910–152–1), the candlestick occupies the face that was probably to serve as handle





Fig. r6.—Wood, double-faced, diam. 6.2 cm., height 3.5 cm., 6th or 7th century, from Achmim-Panopolis. Photos by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

(Fig. 17). The name $\Pi POBOY$ appearing on this disk in relief is probably that of the owner. On the other face, the one that was pressed upon the bread loaf, there appears a bull's head, which is rarely found in Christian monuments and to my knowledge in no other Christian bread stamp. This disk is broken, and only the following obscure fragment of the Greek inscription remains $+EY \dots \Theta WYEYO$. Professor Goodenough, who has published the Toronto stamp, sees a sacramental value in the bucranium.

Among the stamps that have been discussed above, one can include those which have the form of a peacock and which bear either ritual inscriptions or names of owners. An example from Egypt is now in the





Fig. 17.—Limestone, height 7.6 cm., diam. 9.5 cm., ca. 4th century, from Palestine or Egypt. Photo by courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

Louvre. Assigned to a date between the fourth and sixth centuries, the stamp is made of bronze and bears the inscription IACO[B]OC (James) which is probably the name of the owner. These stamps should not be confused with the so-called eucharistic doves, which are metal plaques in the form of a dove and are not bread stamps.³²

Once the cross was recognized as a symbol of triumph and was given a magnificent place on the apses of the early Christian basilicas, the traditional designing of the *panis quadratus* gave place to a cross that was sculptured and emphatically shown. The new form is displayed on a terra-cotta stamp from Egypt dating from about the sixth century, now in the British Museum (Fig. 18). Here again the design is sunk and the impressions therefore would have been in relief.³³

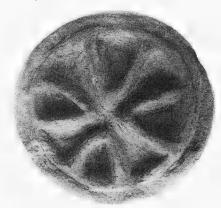


Fig. 18.—Terra cotta, diam. 8.8 cm., ca. 6th century, from Egypt. Photo by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

From now on the elaboration of the cross begins, and one characteristic feature is the addition of rays, clearly making the cross the instrument of light. The relation of light to the cross was not figurative only; the literal association probably derives from the legend of Saint Helena's discovery of the three crosses from Calvary: the Cross of Christ miraculously radiated light to reveal itself as the true cross.³⁴

The new concepts are seen on a terra-cotta stamp dating from about the sixth century, said to have come from Egypt, now in the British Museum (no. 81/7-19/64; see Fig. 19). The stamp, with a well-preserved handle on its back, shows a cross in the form of a quatrefoil including another smaller cross whose ends are marked by dots; four rays emanate from the center, each marked on either side by dots. The dots may be ornaments, not uncommon on loaves of bread, or they may reflect ornaments found in actual examples or representations. The same explanation can be offered for the dots on either side of the rays. However, the idea of light present here may suggest that the dots are abbreviations of the stars to which, in monumental examples, the cross is elevated.

It is clear that the symbolism of these bread stamps follows the trend of the art of the catacombs and of early Byzantium. And although some of these symbols appear in representations of bread in Last Supper or Communion scenes, they are too common to prove that these stamps were intended for only one kind of bread, specifically that used in worship.³⁸ It is possible that some of them may have been



Fig. 19.—Terra cotta, diam. 10.4 cm., ca. 6th century, from Egypt. Photo by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

used to stamp eucharistic bread, and this may be especially true of some stamps in the form of a peacock. It can equally be supposed that impressions with similar symbols adorned common bread as well.

Such an ambiguity in usage is exemplified by a rectangular bronze stamp with a ring on the back which is now in Vienna's Kunsthistorisches Museum (no. VI, 3254; Fig. 20). Possibly a bread stamp, it was found at Ephesus. Professor Noll believes it dates from the fifth or sixth century, but the fourth century is equally possible.³⁹

Professor Noll has deciphered the inscription on the stamp as A Γ I ω Θ E ω C Φ PA Γ I . . . (?); my own reading is A Γ I ω Θ E ω C Φ PA Γ IZO[sic] H Δ . This inscription is not reversed, which means that when impressed it would have been read backwards; but this is not unusual in stamps. Despite the four added letters, the exact meaning remains uncertain. Should it be interpreted as "I seal with the Holy God" (or "I seal in the name of the Holy God"), according to the correct usage of the verb $\sigma \phi \rho \alpha \gamma$ ("to seal")?—but early Christian inscriptions are not notable for correct usages. Or should it be corrected to A Γ ION Θ EON C Φ PA Γ IZ ω , in which case the interpretation would be: "I seal the Holy God"? In that event, the phrase Holy God may refer to the eucharistic bread, the Body of Christ, and the stamp must be considered eucharistic.

This ambiguity in meaning leads to a general deduction that no differentiation of various types of bread or stamps occurred until at least the fourth century. Stamps had a general character and could



Fig. 20.—Bronze, 8.9 × 4.7 cm., 5th or 6th century, from Ephesus. Notice that the letters are not reversed, and thus the impression would read backwards; this is not uncommon in stamps. Photos by courtesy of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.



be used on any kind of bread, ordinary or religious. As literary sources imply, the mere sign of the cross made by hand or by knife on a loaf before it was cut and distributed was sufficient to give a Christian meaning to the particular loaf. The unspecified use of stamps stems from the fact that there was no discrimination in the use of the actual loaves of bread. Pictorial evidence also supports this conclusion. For example, in the well-known fresco of the crypt of Lucina in the cemetery of Callistus, Rome, depicting a living fish bearing a basket with bread—which has been considered one of the oldest representations of eucharistic bread—the bread has only a dot on it. If this dot is not an abbreviation of something more complicated, it must be a pictorial rendering of a round hole, which often marks the center of an ordinary loaf of bread. But this lack of differences and distinctions between uses of bread could not have lasted for long.

As time went by, Christians became increasingly aware of the importance of the actual rites in the new religion, and they both distinguished usage and imbued everything with deep symbolism. Undoubtedly, the greatest awareness and sacred reverence centered upon the significance and meaning of the Eucharist. The bread and wine did not remain ordinary; in the Sacrament they were changed into the Body and Blood of Christ. It is to this Body of Christ, the eucharistic bread, that our discussion now leads us.

3 THE EUCHARISTIC BREAD

It is not known when Christians decided to distinguish the eucharistic bread by impressing specific signs upon it. We may assume, on evidence presented in the previous chapter, that such differentiation did not take place before the triumph of the Church, but rather originated afterwards, sometime in the early period of Christianity. The word *period* introduces the problem of a chronological clarification of our material—a problem that is not easy to solve, because clear-cut divisions, though desirable for purposes of study, are not always feasible.

First, a definition of the term *early* is necessary, since it does not mean the same thing to all scholars. Political historians, for example, can use events such as the edict of Milan (A.D. 313) or the sack of Rome by the barbarians (A.D. 410) or the ascent of Justinian to the throne of Constantinople (A.D. 527) to conclude the early period. Students of Christian rites and worship, without ignoring political events (such as those in the reign of Constantine), which undoubtedly had great influence on the development of the Church, are bound by the nature of the material they study to pay attention to changes within the rites. These, unfortunately, do not occur at the same tempo or take the

same course everywhere. This means that a chronological frame which will correspond to the demands of more than one discipline is not easy to construct.

Generally speaking, the term *early* is applied to the first three or four centuries of Christianity, that is, the pre-Constantinian and Constantinian times. For our own purposes, the end of the early period must be placed somewhere in the seventh century. It is not only for the sake of convenience that this is proposed. The liturgical families, on the one hand, began to be formed in the fourth century and their formation continued down to the seventh century. On the other hand, these dates can conveniently include stamps which do not presuppose one particular rite for their explanation. All of them are termed *Early Christian*, though undoubtedly some must have been used in the Early Byzantine Church as well.

But my discussion of the Byzantine bread stamps, on which my interest is focused, must begin with the fourth century both because the Byzantine rite, properly speaking, dates from then and because a number of extant stamps of early date can be associated with the first stages of the development of the Byzantine rite. My further divisions of the Byzantine period, determined mainly by changes in the marks on stamps, conveniently coincide with the normally accepted divisions; they are as follows:

- r. The Early Byzantine period, from the fourth to the end of the eighth century—a formative phase. The stamps for the most part point to the gradual formation of the Byzantine rite.
- 2. The Middle Byzantine period, from the ninth to the thirteenth century, whose stamps show greater stability in the rite.
 - 3. The Late Byzantine period to the fall of Constantinople.
- 4. The Post-Byzantine centuries down to the present. These last phases include stamps which show further developments of the rite.

Eucharistic Bread in the Early Christian Church

The changes in meaning that the Eucharist underwent during the early and subsequent centuries, as well as the development of Christian worship, are subjects discussed by liturgists. The role of archaeologists in dealing with these problems has long been recognized. They must, however, begin any discussion of their material with an investigation of the literary sources, for the simple reason that the history of the Christian Church is documented. Such an examination gives to the material its proper value and also provides the reader with a necessary background, particularly with reference to church ceremonies in which the bread played a part.

Literary Evidence

The sources from which information about the celebration of the Eucharist after the middle of the second century can be derived are mainly the writings of the Apologists Justin, Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Cyprian; two of the Apocryphal works, the Acts of John and the Acts of Thomas; and the Apostolic Constitutions. Other related documents are the so-called Canones Hippolyti, and the Testamentum Domini.²

The first extensive description of the liturgy, repeatedly discussed by scholars, is given by Justin, the philosopher and martyr (d. between 163 and 167), in his first *Apology*, addressed to Antoninus Pius and his adopted son, the future emperor Marcus Aurelius. Briefly, this is how a gathering took place on a Sunday morning in Rome.

The Christians met, read extracts from the "memoirs" of the apostles and the books of the prophets, and listened to a sermon of an edifying nature delivered by the leader of the congregation. Prayers concluded this part of the liturgy, and the kiss of peace opened the sacramental part. The faithful brought their offerings of bread, wine, and water, which the leader received directly, reciting a prayer of thanksgiving over them. The Communion followed, with the deacons bringing to each communicant bread and wine mixed with water. If there were members of the church who, because of illness or other serious reasons, were unable to be present, the Holy Communion was taken to them by the deacons.³

Justin's successors either repeat or enrich this information. Cyprian, dishop of Carthage (d. 258), spoke of the Eucharist's being carried home by the faithful, where it was preserved for daily communion. He also confirmed the fact that the gifts were brought by the faithful

for sanctification, and he censured the rich women who came to the church without offerings and communicated from those of the poor.⁴ We learn further about the role of the deacons and the particular meaning of certain liturgical gestures related to the bread. For example, in the third century, when the bread was brought to the altar the bishop placed his hands upon the loaves. The same ritual was repeated by the presbyters. In this ceremony the oblations seemed to represent the persons who had offered them.⁵

It is also clear that by this time the celebration of the agape had been separated from the Eucharist. Justin made no mention of the agape, while Clement of Alexandria (150–200) spoke of these meals as having no relation to the Eucharist.⁶ It can be deduced from this information that the Christians became more aware of the Eucharist and therefore of the bread used in it. Details about this bread, however, are not provided by the texts.⁷

The silence of the texts may well mean that for some time the Christians did not ascribe any importance to the symbols impressed on the bread which was to be used for the Eucharist. Of course, it must be remembered that probably the faithful who brought their own loaves were free to impress on them whatever mark they wished; and it is natural to assume that during the persecutions a cross or cryptic sign would have marked an oblation, just as it would have marked the ordinary loaf of a Christian family.

After the triumph of the Church, Christians began to be more conscious of the bread used for the Eucharist. In that important liturgical document of the fourth century, the *Anaphora of Serapion* (also known as the *Sacramentary of Serapion*), by the bishop of Thmuis, a town in lower Egypt, there is a special prayer for those who presented bread during the liturgy, and they are mentioned by name. This, we may assume, made the bearers more conscious of the gifts they presented. Other examples indicate that there arose a gradual awareness of the necessity of distinguishing eucharistic bread, not in order to make it different in substance from the bread eaten at home, but simply to designate it for eucharistic sacrifice.

Epiphanius, bishop of Cyprus (d. 403), refers to the form of the loaf, which should be round (στρογγυλοειδές), a form that has persisted to

Eucharistic Bread

this day in all eastern rites. Later, other features were added to the loaf. The Egyptian monk and Monophysite bishop, Peter the Iberian (d. 487), had a bakery which produced loaves for the Eucharist that were small, white, beautiful, and suitable for the sacrifice. 10 In another text, the Life of St. Pachomius (Vita Prima, chap. 89), probably dating from the end of the fourth century, one reads that the monks who prepared the eucharistic oblations in the bakery of the monastery were bound to complete silence. 11 On the other hand, Renaudot cites a passage from the Constitutions, attributed to Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444), which states that the eucharistic bread should be baked in the church. 12 In the West a similar view is stated in the Sixth Canon of the Council of Toledo in 693: Bread should not be placed on the altar to be consecrated if it is not complete, proper, and especially made (panis ex studio praeparatus).13 The canon thus implies that, at least in some parts of the Christian world, until the seventh century Christians were careless about their oblations and often used ordinary loaves of bread. It also implies the propriety of distinguishing eucharistic bread from common.

In these pieces of information one finds the roots of a tradition that has persisted to this day in all eastern rites and has taken various forms. Special attention is paid to the baking of the bread, and in some Churches special rites accompany the preparation of the oblation. For instance the liturgy of the Nestorians includes the Order of the Preparation of the Oblation. The priest himself prepares the dough, forms the loaf, and bakes it. For the preparation of the dough he mixes fine flour, olive oil, and warm water. He uses as leaven a portion of the dough left from the previous Eucharist. When he is to make the loaves, he blesses the dough with an old and holy leaven derived from the loaf of bread that Christ gave to John the beloved disciple at the Last Supper. According to tradition, that loaf was mixed with water preserved from the Baptism of Christ; later, during the Crucifixion it was mixed with some drops of Christ's blood, and a leaven was then prepared. According to the tradition, this holy leaven, known as malka, was handed down to the Nestorian Church and kept in a holy vessel used for the preparation of the eucharistic loaf.14

In the Byzantine Church attention paid to the preparation of the oblation is manifested in another way. In the monasteries a special oven, usually small, destined for the baking of the oblations, is constructed next to the large oven where bread for common consumption is baked. Two examples of this can be seen in the monasteries of Grand Lavra on Mount Athos and of Saint John the Theologian on the island of Patmos.¹⁵ In both cases the bakery, which is fairly large, includes a special container for the preparation of the dough, and two ovens side by side. The smaller of the two, according to oral tradition, has always been used for the oblations. Neo-Hellenic customs reflect the Early Christian tradition as well, for the preparation of the oblation is an important event in the life of the believer. In villages, in Greece and elsewhere, the flour used for the oblations is kept in a special place, the board on which the dough is made is not used for other types of bread, and special attention is paid to the baking. During the preparation of the bread and at the most sacred moment, just when the stamp is to be pressed upon the dough, the names of the living and the dead for whom the gifts are being prepared are spoken. In some remote places in Greece the eucharistic loaf is prepared by the wife of the priest and is carried to the church in a procession with candles.16

The attention, observed in contemporary customs, given to anything related to the bread takes us back again to the Early Christians, who saw the vessels used in Communion as objects of holiness. Saint Athanasius (295–373), for example, states that the chalice was kept in the church, and it was a sacrilege to break it willingly. Cyril of Alexandria also emphasizes the sacredness of the vessels, which were to be used by the priests only for the needs of the altar. These testimonies are important, for, if the vessels were considered to be so sacred, how much more sacred and more important must the actual bread have been considered.

The awareness of the importance of the bread for the Eucharist implies special care in distinguishing it, by relevant symbols or inscriptions impressed on it, from other kinds of bread. This distinction must have developed gradually among the Christian communities. We

may therefore expect a diversity in the use of symbols, which may parallel the variety of conceptions about the consecration of the elements and their exact form.¹⁸ It follows, then, that stamps whose inscriptions or symbols have a eucharistic significance must be considered as intended for eucharistic bread.

Inscriptions

Stamps that have come down to us substantiate our suppositions, which were based on insufficient literary evidence.

In 1902 the Berlin Museum acquired a circular bronze stamp of uncertain date, with the Greek inscription KAPTIOI KYPIOY ("Fruit of the Lord") around the edge, and a monogram in the center. The inscription is accompanied by three crosses, one on either end, and one between the two words. 19 A similar inscription occurs in two other bronze stamps, unpublished, said to have come from former Byzantine territories and now in the collection of Mr. and Mrs. John de Menil, Houston, Texas.²⁰ One is rectangular (length 5.8 cm., width 3.0 cm.) and well preserved. On its main face is the inscription KAPTIOI OEOY ("Fruit of God"), the word God obviously being a substitute for the word Lord. The other stamp (Fig. 21) is in the form of a Greek cross and contains only the word KAPHOI. All three stamps have a ring on the back for handling. Evidently they all reflect the same iconographic tradition. The crosses on the Berlin stamp and the cross-form of the stamp in Figure 21 leave no doubt that the remaining stamp, which does not contain a cross, is also a Christian stamp. A rectangular bronze stamp, formerly in the collection of the Catholic Theological Seminar of the University of Münster, may be related to them.21 Its inscription reads ΦΟΡΑ ΘΕΟΥ. The different word ΦΟΡΑ is a substitute for the word KAPIIOI, both meaning the same thing: that which is brought forth, fruit, a gift.

None of these stamps is dated, but the extreme regularity of the letters suggests a date in the fourth or fifth century at the latest. There is no doubt that we are dealing with bread stamps. The meaning of the inscription makes it clear: they were for "fruit," gifts that belonged to God, that is, oblations presented to the church, an interpretation that Wulff has already proposed for the Berlin stamp.²² Since bread was



Fig. 21.—Bronze, length 6.8 cm., 4th or 5th century. Photo by courtesy of the owners, Mr. and Mrs. John de Menil, Houston, Texas.

presented by the faithful, the person who made the offering must have thought of these loaves as something distinct, put aside for God. So we have here stamps which give us one of the earliest indications of a gradual distinction between bread intended for God from bread that was for everyday use.

That a time came when Christians considered it necessary to give more care to the eucharistic loaf is attested by another stamp whose date is later than those mentioned above. It is in the Benaki Museum in Athens (no. 88) and is published here for the first time (Fig. 22). Made of terra cotta, it is circular, with a handle on the back; it bears a Greek cross in a circle and an inscription running around the border and within the circle around the cross. The letters, the circle that marks the edge of the stamp, the circle enclosing the cross, and the cross itself are represented in relief. The inscription, slightly damaged in one part, reads as follows: TON APTON EIMIN [sic] TON [EIII]OYCION KYPIE XAPICE EIMIN [sic], which means "Our Daily Bread, Lord, Grant Us." The lettering is crude; but if certain characters, such as the K, Y, E, M, and N, are considered, the stamp can be assigned to a date between the fifth and sixth centuries, perhaps earlier.

The inscription is a personal invocation based on the Lord's Prayer. It can be supposed that the stamp was used on ordinary bread placed on the table of a Christian family whose daily meals possibly began with a recitation of the Lord's Prayer. Yet there is nothing that would argue convincingly against the presence of such an invocation on



Fig. 22.—Terra cotta, diam. 7.2 cm., 5th or 6th century, from Egypt. Photo by courtesy of the Benaki Museum, Athens.

a loaf of bread offered to a church in order to be consecrated and used for the Eucharist.23 In fact, the stamp in all likelihood is eucharistic, and the key to this conclusion is provided by the inscription itself. Interpreted literally, this is an invocation in which the faithful asks for his daily nourishment, his essential bread. It may be, however, that this should be construed as the bread that gives life in a symbolic way; that is, the eucharistic meaning of the bread may be recognized here. It must be remembered that people were particularly familiar with the relation of the Lord's Prayer to the Holy Communion, as the liturgies since early times demonstrate. Specifically, in the Egyptian rite and in the liturgies of Alexandria known under the names of Basil the Great and Gregory of Nazianzus, the prayer is recited after the Fraction of the Bread. In the Byzantine rite, and in the Liturgy of Saint Mark, which is influenced by the Byzantine rite, the prayer comes before the Fraction. In all eastern liturgies the entire congregation participates in the recitation. In fact, in France in the sixth century, and in the Mozarabic liturgy, the people similarly participated by uttering the "Amen" after each petition. Only in Rome was the prayer recited by the priest alone.24

Such familiarity with the prayer and knowledge of its association with the Eucharist may have caused the faithful to impress a reference to the Lord's Prayer on a loaf which was to be used for the Eucharist. Clearly this stamp shows the attention its user gave either to the meaning of the bread itself, or to a particular part of the liturgy.

Whereas the former examples suggest a distinction of the eucharistic bread in general, the Benaki stamp suggests a specific reference to this bread; and, as such, it may be taken to represent a more advanced concept. Between the representatives of these two concepts, which indicate a steady but slow development, we must place and discuss a group of stamps which, like the two-faced Janus, look to the past as well as the future; their common element is reference to a specific meaning of the eucharistic bread.

THE HYGIEIA STAMPS

Several years ago Perdrizet published three bronze stamps containing in relief the words ZωH YΓIA.²⁵ The Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, possesses two of them, one in the form of a shoe sole and the other in the form of a Greek cross. The third example, also cruciform, is in the collection of the British Museum (no. 84/5–9/26) and is illustrated here (Fig. 23).²⁶ Perdrizet put forward the hypothesis that they were used for stamping the blessed bread distributed to pilgrims at various holy sites, that is, the eulogia bread, discussed separately in a later chapter. This interpretation was accepted and further discussed by Deonna.²⁷ New evidence was added by Dölger, who with great insight pointed out the relationship of the Christian eulogia to the pagan hygicia bread.²⁸ More stamps with the same words—the word YΓIEIA is invariably misspelled—and of similar form have been found in recent years, and Mr. and Mrs. John de Menil possess a number of them in their unpublished collection mentioned earlier.

Stamps in the form of a shoe or a foot are numerous. I have no evidence, pagan or Christian, to suggest that they were ever used for bread.²⁹ The occurrence of their impressions on vases and epigraphic evidence found on some unpublished examples point to a different use of these stamps. They constitute a different problem which does not belong to the present study and must be discussed separately.

The use, however, of the cruciform stamps for bread can be strongly supported both by the absence of their impressions on other objects



Fig. 23.—Bronze, length 8.5 cm. and 8 cm., ca. 5th century. Photo by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

and by analogy to examples of similar form, like the one discussed earlier, which furnish epigraphic evidence for such an interpretation. Therefore, a consideration of these stamps within the context of our study is pertinent. It must be pointed out that all these stamps belong to the same chronological period, probably the fifth century.

The word YFIEIA, which in some stamps appears without the word $Z\omega H$, recalls the pagan hygicia bread and its healing powers, and poses the question of on what kind of bread these words were impressed. It may be that the Christians, under the influence of pagan customs, put aside a loaf which they considered to have healing qualities. On the other hand, it may be wrong to assume that these stamps indicated the creation of a bread of special purpose, namely, bread which had to do with bodily health; in simple terms, they may testify to a common wish, the desire for good health, which in fact could be impressed on any loaf of bread. We must reflect a little more on the meaning of the inscription if we are to arrive at a possible solution of the problem.

It is true that, for the Christian, real life did not begin until after death. Yet it would be a mistake to think that every Christian considered his body nothing and his soul everything. Many simple Christians, under the influence of pagan customs and ideas, must have thought a great deal about health in the ordinary sense of the word, and about life in similar terms. They must have asked their Lord

repeatedly for these blessings; indeed, they cited just such earnest desires on their rings, and on the walls or entrances of their houses. This was particularly common in Christian Syria, as Perdrizet has shown.

There must have been others, however, who thought about health and life in a spiritual and mystic sense. Life in Christ meant health of soul; and when the soul is healthy, when it is free from the consequences of sin, it is ready to enter into Eternal Life. Christians who saw in these two words a mystic meaning declared their thoughts on their tombstones. There one often finds the words *Health* and *Life*, to which the word *Joy* (XAPA) is occasionally added. Obviously, the two words were meant in both a bodily and a spiritual sense. To find a loaf of bread suitable to receive the impressions of these two words, it is necessary to look for one which could include both meanings; and in the Early Christian period, eucharistic bread did so.

In the Sacramentary of Scrapion there is a special prayer, a continuation of the epiklesis (prayer of oblation), which asks that the consecrated gifts may become "medicine of life" to the participants and be given "for the healing of every disease, and for the strengthening of every improvement and virtue and not for damnation." This prayer was followed by the reading of the names of the dead for whom God's intervention was asked. To this memorial, another prayer was attached: God was asked to receive the thanks of His people and to bless "those who have brought the offerings and the thanksgiving and grant health, wholesomeness, joy and every happiness of soul and body to all the people." The healing powers, both bodily and spiritual, of the Eucharist are clear, and to mark the bread which embodied these powers with the all-significant words ZωH, YΓIEIA must have been the most natural thing for the faithful to do.

The author of this prayer echoes the words of Paul addressed to the Corinthians (I Cor. II: 28–30): "But let a man examine himself and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup. For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's body. For this cause many are weak and sickly among you, and many sleep." The connection between bodily health and the Eucharist is clear in this passage also.



Eucharistic Bread

It was later, when it became apparent that not everyone could participate in the Eucharist, that a special bread carrying over the healing powers of the eucharistic bread was introduced. This was the antidoron, which is discussed in Chapter 4.

It must be pointed out, however, that the same Sacramentary of Serapion implies the existence of special bread connected with bodily health. The seventeenth prayer of the Sacramentary is entitled "Prayer over the Oil for the Sick or over Bread or Water." It has been assumed that the oil was used at extreme unction and that this long prayer was used when the sick person was anointed; water and bread were also used. At one point in the prayer, "the Father of our Lord and Redeemer, Jesus Christ," is asked to bestow upon the bread healing powers so that it may become "medicine of life and salvation" to those who eat it, and bring them "health, soundness of soul, body and spirit and perfect strength."32 This detailed petition could also be summed up in two words—ZωH, YΓIEIA—and it is this thought which raises a problem concerning the use of the stamps bearing these words. Were they for eucharistic bread, or were they intended for this seemingly special bread? The prayer itself tells us nothing about the bread itself. The difficulty can be surmounted if we make the following assumption.

A loaf of bread that was to be used for such a special purpose and in so personal a manner must have had, other than just the two words, some other indication, probably an allusion to the person for whose health the prayer was recited over the bread. The simplest and most explicit indication would be the name of the sick person. In fact, there are bread stamps which contain a particular name, cited in the dative, next to the words $Z\omega H$ and YFIEIA, meaning that life and health are requested for the person named. It may be that these stamps, to be discussed later, marked this special bread.

In trying to clarify the use of the hygieia stamps, we must not push the point of distinction further. There is more than one answer to the various problems raised. But it is interesting to note that Christian bread stamps with the words $Z\omega H$ and $Y\Gamma IEIA$ on them are, to our knowledge, in the form of a Greek cross, while those which include a name as well are of rectangular or circular form. Certainly this difference is not the result of the added third word and it may

not be coincidence either. Perhaps the cross form was chosen intentionally for the eucharistic bread, which was the more significant. In this way, a distinction could be made between the eucharistic bread and the special bread which received the prayer for the sick.

The language of signs and symbols had more appeal than simple inscriptions to the Early Christians, and both elements—symbols and inscriptions—were often combined for greater clarity and emphasis of a particular meaning. Bread stamps are no exception. The discussion which follows introduces those stamps that are richer in meaning.

IMPROVISED COMPOSITIONS

The stamps described in this section echo no pagan usages, but speak rather in a language that is Christian, or Christianized. They belong to a new chapter of the story of the symbols and forms of eucharistic bread.

In the year 1919, at the excavations of a Roman camp in Eisenberg, Pfalz, a rectangular clay stamp was discovered (Fig. 24).33 The finds date from the second half of the fourth or early fifth century, and the stamp must be of the same date. The main face shows in relief the Chi-Rho, that is, the Christogram. On the side of the stamp there is the following Latin inscription: AD PANEM PINGERE-UTERE FELIX, which could be rendered into English as "to draw on the bread [for stamping the bread], to make good use of it." The first part of the inscription proves without any question the use of the stamp,34 but the second part does not necessarily prove that it was intended for the eucharistic bread. Nor can this be suggested on the basis of the Chi-Rho commonly used in Early Christian times. The form utere felix is also a common occurrence in Latin inscriptions and not uncommon on Christian monuments of the fifth and sixth centuries, as Dölger, who has discussed its meaning, has shown.35 It is a benedictory formula signifying Christian piety.

Nevertheless the stamp is eucharistic. The key is the reverse side, upon which there is a geometric design in relief, showing two cubic undulations partially enclosed by three sides of a rectangle which in turn is bracketed by two ell-shaped lines. The mystery of this design is solved by the impression made by the stamp (Fig. 24). The Chi-Rho of the main face was used to form the central part of a Greek cross,





Fig. 24.—Terra cotta, $5.2 \times 4.2 \times 1$ cm., ca. 400, from Eisenberg. Historical Museum of Pfalz, Speyer. Top, main face of stamp; bottom, impression made by combining the faces of the stamp. Photos by courtesy of the Deutsches Brotmuseum, Ulm, Germany.

the arms of which were formed by pressing the reverse side against each of the four sides of the first impression. The cube-shaped undulations were imitations of ornaments often found in representations of crosses since the discovery of the true cross by Saint Helena in the fourth century. This arrangement is too elaborate to allow us to suggest that a housewife or a baker would have done all this on an ordinary loaf of bread just to please her family or his circle of customers. The stamp could only have been used for the eucharistic bread.

Also loaded with elaborately arranged symbolic motifs is another clay stamp of a fifth- or sixth-century date, found at Arles in southern

France, a cast of which is illustrated here (Fig. 25). The stamp has preserved a pierced conical handle and has a striking design on its main face. Within a medallion there is a cross of the kind known as the cross of Malta under a double arch supported by two stylized columns. Two palm branches are below the columns, and between these branches is another smaller cross. Three similar crosses, one not well preserved, appear outside the central medallion: two on the upper part of the border and one on the lower central part. The space between them is filled with a zigzag ornament. It should be pointed out that the main cross is in intaglio whereas the small cross below is in relief, so there is a difference between the two on the actual impression.

Forrer, who first published the stamp, was attracted by the complexity of the symbols and recognized it as a stamp for liturgical bread, but did not attempt an interpretation.³⁷ There can be no doubt that the cross is here displayed as a trophy under a triumphal arch and as such declares the victory of Christ. The motif by itself is known from other Christian monuments since the period of Constantine the Great, and a well-known later example is provided by the ampullae of Monza.38 The addition of the palm branches further stresses the idea of victory and immortality. Strangely enough, the different technique used for the depiction of the crosses has a curious result on the stamp. The crosslet seems to be pressed by another stamp upon a circle which bulges out of the background of the composition. This is clear on the impression where the small circle resembles a loaf of bread. What this was meant to represent we do not know. Perhaps we may have an attempted representation of an actual loaf of bread with a cross on it. That such representations have existed in a variety of works, and that some of them undoubtedly had a eucharistic meaning is all too well known.³⁹ If this were the case the palm branches should refer to the eucharistic bread, giving it special significance. Even if we consider only the presence of the various motifs, the attention paid to the composition and to minute details, the differences in relief, and the layout, we must admit the eucharistic use of the stamps. The richness of meaning excludes any other possibility. The cross of Christ triumphs, and the Christian conquers immortality in this bread of the sacrament flanked by the palms. The other three crosses on the border, which surely were not intended merely as space-fillers and which appear to have been imprinted by another stamp, most probably



Fig. 25.—Cast of terra-cotta bread stamp, diam. 6 cm., 5th or 6th century, from Arles. Photo by courtesy of the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva.

allude to the Holy Trinity. The motifs can be compared to the mosaics of the church of Bishop Theodorus in Aquileia (early fourth century), where a personification of Victory with a wreath and palm branch is associated with the Eucharist (Fig. 88; see chap. 5, n. 18, below).

The elements and ideas of this iconography are by no means unique. Among the small finds at Olympia a number of terra-cotta bread stamps have been reported by the German excavators.40 They have common symbols, such as a cross with flaring arms and simple ornaments or rays of light. One of them, found north of the Prytaneum (no. TC 2023) can be singled out because of its composition and considered eucharistic. On its main face, which is surrounded by a zigzag motif, there is engraved a cross with hatched ornament, possibly suggesting jewels (Fig. 26). Between the arms of the cross there are a star, a crescent, one triangle, and another unclear symbol, perhaps a second triangle. We are dealing, therefore, with symbols combined with a certain intent by the stamp's designer. The cross is elevated to the astral world, as the star and the moon suggest. The Trinitarian symbolism of the triangle adds another significance to the triumph of the cross and relates this stamp conceptually to the more complex stamp from Arles. The excavators have not assigned a date to the Olympia stamp, but the symbols on the Early Christian lamps found nearby and the ideas expressed in the composition of the stamp point to the fifth or sixth century.

In other examples eucharistic ideas are more explicit. A terra-cotta stamp from Idfu, for example, has symbols of an undeniably eucharistic significance: a stag, a vase (?), and a palm branch.⁴¹ The



Fig. 26.—Terra cotta, diam. 10.8 cm., 5th or 6th century, from Olympia. Photo by courtesy of the Archaeological Museum, Olympia.

stag at the fountain has been considered by the Christians to be the symbol of the soul which possesses God by means of Communion, an imagery based on Psalm 42:1: "As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God." It has also been suggested that in eastern liturgies the stag is associated with the Eucharist. Furthermore, the palm would suggest that the Eucharist is considered the *medicamen* for immortality.

These interpretations are further supported by another example, probably dating from the sixth century, now in the Museum Alaoui, Tunis. It is a terra-cotta mould found near Djebeniana, Africa, whose Church was perhaps attached to Alexandria after the Arab conquest. A stag among the trees is represented on the mould, together with the following inscription in Latin from John 6:51: + EGO SUM PANIS VIVUS QUI DE CELO DESCENDI (Fig. 27).43 The inscription makes clear the meaning of the representation as well as the eucharistic use of the mould: the soul of the faithful partakes of the body of Christ, the Living Bread, through the Eucharist, about which Christ Himself speaks in the same passage from John in these words: "If any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever: and the bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world." Also in verse 54 of the same chapter, Christ states, "Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day."

One of the most common symbols found in Early Christian art is the fish, symbol of Christ and, through Him, of the Eucharist. It is represented in a great variety of connections and upon all sorts of monu-



Fig. 27.—Mould, terra cotta, diam. 16 cm., 6th century, from Djebeniana (Africa). Museum Alaoui, Tunis. Photo by courtesy of the Musée National du Bardo, Tunis.

ments, amulets, carved stones, and rings. In representations of the Eucharist in Early Christian art, the fish is an essential element. One recalls, for instance, the depiction of the *Fractio Panis* in the so-called Cappella Greca (in the catacomb of Priscilla on the Via Salaria, Rome), where the concise symbols of the basket, the loaf, and the fish have been considered abbreviations of the Eucharist. The eucharistic symbolism of the fish is manifested also in the well-known metrical epitaph of Abercius (bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, who came to Rome in the time of Marcus Aurelius), now in the Lateran collection, as the following passage shows: "Faith was my guide everywhere, and set before me for food everywhere the Ichthys from the spring, the very great, the pure, which a pure Virgin caught and gave to friends to eat forever. She has also pure wine and offers it mixed with water along with bread."

Naturally there are bread stamps with the symbol of the fish impressed upon them, like the terra-cotta stamp formerly in the collection of the University of Münster or the one from Achmim-Panopolis, illustrated here (Fig. 28). 46 But to interpret all of them as intended for eucharistic bread would be an error, for the fish alone does not constitute a sufficient basis of evidence on which to make distinctions and assertions. Yet at least some of these stamps were for eucharistic bread, although none can be specified conclusively as eucharistic. These stamps bearing fish on them may have been used first to stamp



Fig. 28.—Terra cotta, diam. 7.5 cm., ca. 6th century, from Achmim-Panopolis. Photo by courtesy of the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva.

eucharistic loaves in some Christian communities at a time when the Eucharist was still celebrated with the agape. Their use may have continued well after the Eucharist was separated from the agape (exactly when this occurred is uncertain),⁴⁷ although by that time other types of eucharistic bread stamps may have become more common.

FORMALIZED COMPOSITIONS

When the Eucharist was separated from the agape, the form of the celebration of the Sacrament began to crystallize, and this was possibly reflected on the eucharistic loaf itself. The fish still played its part, but it no longer occupied the entire surface of the stamp. Instead, it was placed on each of the four sections into which the stamp was divided by means of a cross. The resulting composition combined two of the most important symbols of Christianity, the fish and the cross, and by the emphasis it placed on each of the four parts it suggested a ceremonial awareness. The motifs on the composition were not improvised. On the contrary, the composition was "formalized," as one sees on a terra-cotta stamp from Cairo, now in Berlin, probably earlier than the sixth century, which may be eucharistic. It bears a Greek cross with four stylized fish between the arms, all systematically arranged.

The formal aspect of the composition was further stressed by enclosing the central cross in a medallion or rectangle; the term cross-in-a-medallion is used hereinafter for this type. The story of the symbols

Eucharistic Bread

placed between the arms of the cross can be followed in a group of early examples, none of which can be dated after the year 700, displaying what we have called a "formalized" composition.

In the simplest examples each of the four sections is marked by a triangle, symbol of the Trinity; in more elaborate and possibly more advanced examples, it bears a cross or is inscribed with letters. Two stamps from Apulia published by Jurlaro illustrate the use of the triangles.49 One of these stamps is more elaborate than the other, in that the medallion with the cross and triangles occupies only part of the whole stamp. The medallion is placed in the center and is surrounded by a larger circle with rays. But on a circular bread stamp made of black stone, in the British Museum, dating from the sixth century or earlier, there is a cross pattée engraved within a circle of zigzag bands interrupted by four small crosses;50 and in another terracotta example in Cairo, which dates from before 700, each section between the arms of the cross has a diagonally placed crosslet that could also be interpreted as the letter X, probably standing for Christ, or perhaps for the sentence Χριστὸς Χριστιανοῖς Χαρίζει Χάριν ("Christ grants grace to Christians").51

The same letters or crosslets similarly arranged between the arms of the cross appear in other terra-cotta stamps published by Jurlaro.52 Of these, the simplest was found in Manduria, south Italy, in San Pietro Mandurorio, where an Early Christian cemetery and a Byzantine church were located. This reddish clay stamp, now in the Biblioteca "Mano Gatti," is conical (Fig. 29). It bears a cross incised in two lines and tends toward ornamentation. The ornament consists of two sides of a triangle terminating in two dots which seem to embrace the letter X in the upper part of the stamp. The lower half of the stamp is not clear. Two X's are clearly visible; but next to them there is what is possibly a rectangular ornament, or perhaps additional letters which can no longer be read. On the top of the handle is a cross with four irregular dots, recalling the small triangles found in a Brindisi stamp mentioned below. The stamp under discussion was previously attributed to a prehistoric period, but Professor Jurlaro reassigned it to Christian times and seems to prefer a "Byzantine period."

More elaborate is another stamp, also from Apulia, which may be of a later date. It is made of local white stone and has a diameter of



Fig. 29.—Terra cotta, diam. 4.5 cm., height 6 cm., ca. before 700, from Salento. Biblioteca Mano Gatti, Manduria (S. Italy). Stamp and impression. Photo by courtesy of Professor R. Jurlaro, Brindisi.



6 centimeters.⁵³ In addition to the ornamentation of the cross itself—each arm terminates in a diagonal or vertical bar—and the four X's, the stamp contains four dots between the arms of the cross. Jurlaro suggests an eighth-century date, but it may be earlier.

A third example, from Ugento, is in the Colosso collection there; it is made of clay and, unlike the others, is square (Fig. 30). It is of special interest in that the letter X, placed in the four angles of the cross, terminates in a trilobe. The result is highly ornamental. Jurlaro assigns this stamp to the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century. The stamp, however, was found among Early Christian objects, and even though the motifs are different in each case, the tendency toward ornamentation parallels that of both the other Apulia stamps. Furthermore, all these stamps are of an iconography which finds its best parallel in the Cairo stamp mentioned earlier. If the Colosso stamp is as late as proposed, it must be admitted that its iconography reflects the same Early Christian tradition which is seen in all these stamps and which was to survive in later times (see Fig. 60).

Iconographically related to this group is one stamp, also from Apulia, whose composition can be considered a variant of those discussed above. The four crosses are not placed on either side of the four arms of the





Fig. 30.—Terra cotta, 4.2×4.2 cm., date uncertain, from Ugento. Collezione Colosso, Ugento (S. Italy). Stamp and impression. Photo by courtesy of Professor R. Jurlaro, Brindisi.

central cross, but show a different combination (Fig. 31). This limestone stamp, in the Provincial Museum of Brindisi (no. 1369), bears five crosses arranged in such a way that a sixth Greek cross is formed. The cross in the center is larger than the others. All the crosses have small triangles between their arms and are separated from each other by foliage. Professor Jurlaro, who has published it, accepts it with no reservations as eucharistic and assigns it to the Apostolic age, "ad una epoca assai vicina alla predicazione degl' apostoli." Although this date may be too early—and not necessarily supported by the stamp's decorative motif, which finds similarities in motifs appearing in Early Christian lamps in the Vatican—the stamp is certainly Early Christian and must be dated before the fifth century.

The stamps with the "improvised" and those with the "formalized" compositions in their two basic types, and their variations, clearly show that there was not a common formula among early Christian communities concerning the symbols impressed upon the eucharistic bread. A certain freedom is obvious, which in its turn seems to reflect freedom in the actual practice concerning the Fraction of the Bread in the Early Christian Church.

Eucharistic Bread in the Byzantine Church.

The manner of the celebration of the Eucharist described by Saint Justin did not remain unaltered. In the course of time the



Fig. 31.—Limestone, diam. 8 cm., 4th or 5th century, from Apulia. Provincial Museum, Brindisi. Stamp and impression. Photo by courtesy of Professor R. Jurlaro, Brindisi.

various Christian communities began to develop their own ways of worship, from which the liturgical families sprang. A discussion of them belongs to the history of the liturgies, but for our purposes an outline of certain parts of the Byzantine rite is necessary, as background for the reader and for the interpretation of the stamps related to it.

In the Byzantine Church the liturgy that is celebrated throughout the year is attributed to Saint John Chrysostom, but it contains elements from before his time, most of which derive from Antioch, and other elements added later. In addition, the Liturgy of Saint Basil is performed ten times a year (Christmas Eve, the Eve of Epiphany, New Year's Day, the first five Sundays of Lent, Maundy Thursday, and Saturday of Holy Week). There is also the Liturgy of Saint James (the Greek Liturgy of the Patriarchate of Antioch), performed on October 23 (Saint James's Day) and on the first Sunday after Christmas when the Apostle is commemorated along with Saint Joseph and the prophet David; and there is the Liturgy of the Presanctified, performed during Lent except on Saturdays and Sundays. This is not a liturgy properly speaking, since the Holy Gifts are consecrated on the previous Sunday.

The liturgy or, as the Byzantines called it, the Divine Liturgy is primarily a representation of a reënactment of the Great Mysterium, the Incarnation of Christ, His teachings, His sacrifice, and His glory. ⁵⁶ It is divided into three parts: the Prothesis or Proskomide, the Liturgy of the Catechumens, and the Liturgy of the Faithful. The Prothesis is the Offertory and consists of the preparation of the gifts, provided

by the faithful, for the sacrifice. Contrary to Roman and related rites, where the Offertory comes late in the Mass, in the Byzantine rite at present it takes place at the very beginning of the liturgy. In a compartment on the left side of the main sanctuary, known as the offertory chapel, the bread, wine, and water are prepared at the offertory table before they are carried by the ministers in a procession to the altar. The Liturgy of the Catechumens, originally intended for those who were not as yet communicant members of the Church, but were under instruction, comes next. In early times the catechumens were not allowed to witness the mystic sacrifice, to participate in the Liturgy of the Faithful, but were dismissed. Visually, the Liturgy of the Catechumens is marked by the Little Entrance, which corresponds to the Introit in the western rite, and is the carrying of the Book of the Gospels, raised up in the hands of the officiant, from the chapel of the Prothesis to the Holy Table.

The Liturgy of the Faithful, so named because in early times only the baptized were allowed to participate, contains all the most essential parts of the eucharistic sacrifice. It begins with the Preface, during which the Great Entrance takes place. This is the ceremonial presentation of the prepared gifts from the offertory table to the Holy Altar, and is a very striking part of the liturgy, externally at least. Then follows the Eucharistic Prayer or Anaphora, a Greek word for "offering" which has also been applied to the whole Liturgy of the Faithful. This corresponds to the Canon of the Latin Mass, though it covers more. The gifts are consecrated in the Anaphora, which, beginning with the sursum corda, proceeds to the Sanctus, the Memorial of the Incarnation and the Words of the Institution of the Sacrament (known as anamnesis, corresponding to the unde et memores of the Latin Canon), the Epiklesis or invocation calling down the Holy Ghost on the elements, and the Commemoration of all members of the Church. The Communion, considered by some as part of the Anaphora, comes next, and it consists of the Elevation and Fraction of the Bread, and the Communion of clergy and people. The Dismissal, or conclusion of the Liturgy, consists of the Thanksgiving, the Blessing, and the distribution of the blessed bread known as antidoron.

In order to understand the ceremonies performed with the bread, we must discuss both the Prothesis and the Elevation and Fraction of the Bread. According to the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom, the eucharistic bread, usually known as *prosphora*, is a round cake made of one or two pieces.⁵⁷ When, as in the Russian Church, there are two pieces, symbolizing the twofold nature of Christ, the upper part is smaller than the lower. The prosphora is distinguished from ordinary bread only by the rectangular impression on it which contains the letters IC XC NI KA ("Jesus Christ conquers, or is victorious"), hereinafter referred to as the eucharistic formula of John Chrysostom. (See Figs. 32–34.)

This rectangle is ceremonially detached from the round loaf by means of a double-edged lancet known as the lance, and is placed on the paten, the letters facing down. During this act the celebrant recites Isaiah's prophecy (53:7–8) referring to Christ as the sacrificial Lamb, an idea repeated in the New Testament (see John 1:29, 36; I Peter 1:19; Revelation 5:6). The extracted piece, which is to become the Body of Christ during the Anaphora, is a symbol of Christ, and it is known as the Lamb. After the priest makes an incision crosswise with the lance, the Lamb is turned over so that the side with the cross and the letters is facing up, in order to be pierced with the lance according to the Gospel's "one of the soldiers with a spear pierced His side" (John 19:34). The incision must be rather deep to facilitate the fraction of the bread into four pieces later. At this point the deacon brings the wine and the water to the priest to be blessed, and pours them into the chalice.

Thereafter the priest takes another loaf and extracts from its stamp only one small piece, a particle. He cuts it in the form of an equilateral triangle (a custom mentioned by Symeon of Thessalonica in the fifteenth century) and places it on the paten on the right side of the Lamb. This piece, known as the All-Holy, is offered in honor and memory of the Mother of God. Its actual form, symbolically related to the Trinity, emphasizes the role of Mary in the Incarnation.⁵⁹

There follows the extraction, from a third oblation, of nine particles offered in honor of the following: the archangels Michael and Gabriel and all the heavenly host; John the Baptist and all the prophets; the apostles; the great Church fathers and doctors of the Church; the holy martyrs; the holy fathers; the wonder-working physiciansaints Cosmas and Damian; a group of saints including the forebears of Christ, Joachim and Ann, the titular saint of the church, the saint





Fig. 32.—Eucharistic bread before the Prothesis, Greek Orthodox Church; diam., top, 18 cm., bottom, 14 cm. Photos by the author.

whose memory is being commemorated that day, and all saints through whose prayers the priest begs the visitation of God; and John Chrysostom or Basil the Great, depending on the liturgy being celebrated. These nine particles are placed in three rows on the left of the Lamb and represent the nine orders of angels which surround the throne of God in heaven. Finally, to commemorate the living and the dead, one or more particles for each category, extracted from a fourth and fifth oblation, are placed below the Lamb (Fig. 35).

The paten on which the various portions have been arranged and the chalice containing the wine mixed with a little water are carried



Fig. 33.—Eucharistic bread before the Prothesis, Greek Orthodox Church, from Rhodes; diam. 18–25 cm. Photo by courtesy of the Deutsches Brotmuseum, Ulm, Germany.



Fig. 34.—Eucharistic bread before the Prothesis, Russian Orthodox Church; diam. of lower part, 7 cm., of upper part, 4 cm. Photo by Miss C. Ferguson, Montreal.

to the altar during the Great Entrance. After the Eucharistic Prayer is said, the Elevation of the Bread takes place. The priest lifts up the Holy Bread, an act symbolizing the identity of the bread with Christ, that it is He who sits next to the Father and comes down to sanctify those that are worthy. 60 At the Fraction of the Bread which follows, the celebrant cuts the Lamb into four pieces, as marked, and places them on the paten in the form of a cross. The portion with the letters IC faces east, that with the letters XC west; the portion with the NI

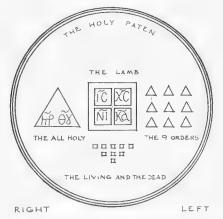


Fig. 35.—Drawing of the Holy Prothesis. The arrangement of the eucharistic bread on the paten according to the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom. Courtesy of Mr. A. Bergmann, Montreal.

faces north and that with the KA south. Then the priest takes the portion with the letter IC, makes the sign of the cross over the chalice. and drops it into the chalice. This is known as the Ενωσις, 'Ανάμιξις, Πλήρωσις. In the Latin rite it is known as commixtio. The assisting deacon pours warm water into the chalice with a crosswise motion. Then the priest takes the portion of the Lamb XC, divides it in two, and gives one piece to the deacon, who receives it in his right palm. If other priests are present, they too receive portions of bread from the same piece. The officiant keeps the other half for himself. After a silent prayer both the deacon and the priest partake of the bread they hold in their hands. Following this the priest drinks thrice from the Holy Chalice and offers it to the deacon who drinks from it in the same manner. When this act is completed, the two other portions of the Lamb, marked NI and KA, and the spoon which is to be used for the communion of the people are placed in the chalice. The priest, now holding the chalice covered with a veil, invites the people to partake of the Communion.

After the communion of the people the priest returns the chalice to the sanctuary and places it on the altar. Then and only then are the particles of the Mother of God, the saints, and the commemorated faithful dropped into the chalice. It is considered a sin to distribute particles other than the body of Christ to the faithful.

Finally, shortly before the Dismissal and the distribution of the blessed bread, the chalice is returned to the offertory table and the priest

or the deacon consumes the remaining holy elements, so that no small particle may fall or be left. The deacon washes the chalice twice with wine, once with water, and carefully wipes it with the sponge. He collects the sacred vessels, wraps them, places them in the sacristy, and washes his hands and lips.⁶²

The Early Byzantine Period

LITERARY SOURCES

The above description of the eucharistic rite is according to the present usage in the Orthodox Church. Certainly it represents a long development whose stages have not as yet been clearly defined by liturgists. The date, the authorship, and the development of the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom are under discussion. This is not the place to consider these problems, but a few landmarks, important to our study, can be pointed out.

The earliest extant manuscript which contains the three Byzantine liturgies (John Chrysostom, Basil, and the Presanctified) is the Codex Barberini gr. 336, in the Vatican. It dates from the end of the eighth or beginning of the ninth century. Between this and the later codices there are no fundamental differences in the structure and text of the liturgy, though some changes appear in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century manuscripts.

The picture before the eighth century is not clear at all.⁶⁴ Certainly during those years the Prothesis, or Proskomide, must have been simpler and not too different from its celebration in the Early Church. As we have seen, it was actually performed by the faithful who, after the dismissal of the catechumens, approached the altar and, either directly or through the deacons, placed their oblations nearby or on it, each one uttering a prayer. It can be pointed out in passing that this manner of performing the offertory has been preserved in the Ambrosian rite and is still celebrated in the cathedral at Milan.⁶⁵ It is not known when the Prothesis was moved to the beginning of the service, though this event had occurred by the ninth century.⁶⁶

The Communion ceremony also differed from that of the present day. In those early years, and at least until the end of the seventh century, everyone approached the table and received Communion in the manner of the priests. The priest distributed the Holy Bread and 70

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placed it on the palm of the communicant, while the deacons holding the chalice offered the Holy Blood.⁶⁷ Today both elements are in the chalice and are given by the priest with the help of a spoon which, in the beginning (in the fourth and fifth centuries), was introduced for the use of sick or dying persons only. As well as references in texts, there is pictorial evidence; for example, an illustration in the sixth-century Rossano gospel, which shows the manner of communion in the Early Byzantine Church.68

Of the number of bread particles and whether the bread was stamped with special symbols, we know nothing that can be proved. Some think that the stamping of the bread with a cross and letters is no older than the ninth century. 69 Others suggest that it goes back to the time of John Chrysostom, and they deduce this from the following passage in one of his sermons: "This [cross] shines again with the Body of Christ at the mystical supper." We have already seen that the cross was widely used throughout the Early Christian world, and the passage quoted does not suggest anything specific about the formula of John Chrysostom. Nor can the argument for the existence of this formula be based on a passage of Pseudo-Sophronius of Jerusalem which states that "the stamping of the Prosphora was passed on to us by Basil the Great."71 This may be a later invention. Furthermore the word σφραγίζεσθαι should not be taken as always meaning the actual stamping; it often means the making of the sign of the cross over the bread. Nor can the fact that, from the fourth century, the words IC XC NI KA existed elsewhere mean that they had also appeared on the eucharistic bread.⁷² If one considers Churches such as the Coptic and the Ethiopic whose separation from the Byzantine Church occurred rather early and whose stamps do not reveal this particular formula, one could assume—not prove—that the formula had not appeared in the Byzantine Church before the fifth century.⁷³

It is only when we move into the Middle Byzantine period, that is, the ninth century and later, that we are given more details about the bread. The Fraction of the Bread into four parts became a constant rite between the ninth and tenth centuries.74 Also, reference to the particles is made, and by studying the original manuscripts one can see the various changes that occurred and consider the often conflicting

information provided by liturgists who discuss what is said more extensively than what is done.

Beginning with the Lamb we should say that its four portions are not distinguished by letters in the earlier manuscripts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, though such a distinction is made in later codices. 75 Could it be that until the thirteenth century only the cross was stamped on the eucharistic loaf, and not letters?

Similar are the questions related to the particles added to the Lamb. 76 According to at least one authority, the particles of the Mother of God and of the nine Orders of Angels are only explicitly mentioned in manuscripts since the fourteenth century. 77 Before then, after the Lamb had been placed on the paten and the chalice filled, the priest simply dedicated all other oblations that had been offered. That is, the oblations were lifted up and offered in the name of the Virgin and the other saints, who were named individually. Extraction of particles is not mentioned in the manuscripts. This conclusion, however, was based on a number of codices preserved in Athens. Other liturgists, who have utilized codices preserved elsewhere, have more correctly stated that the particles in honor of the saints and the living and the dead were added to the Lamb in the twelfth century.⁷⁸

Furthermore, in the liturgical texts there are different accounts of the number of the individual oblations or particles, and variations in the names of saints for whom they were offered. Naturally one would expect such variations depending on the area, the monastic community, and even the day on which the liturgy was performed. The number of particles is of more interest to us here, and we should at least point out the difficulties that literary sources present. In some manuscripts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in addition to the oblation offered to Mary, there is another single one offered for the angels, John the Baptist, the apostles, prophets, saints, fathers, and doctors of the Church.79 The same information is repeated in later manuscripts dating from the fifteenth century, as in a euchologion where we read: "the third oblation [the first is for the Lamb, the second for the Mother of God] is offered in honor of the vivifying Cross, John the Baptist, the apostles, fathers and doctors of the Church, saints, martyrs, Joachim and Ann, and the saint for whom the

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liturgy is performed. . . . The priest extracts [from this third oblation] one particle and places it below the Lamb, where he arranges in a vertical row all other particles that are to be extracted from the remaining oblations." The fourth particle, extracted from a fourth oblation, according to the same manuscript, was offered for the king, the palace, the archbishop, and the clergy. The fifth particle, extracted from a fifth oblation, was offered for the living, and the sixth one, from another oblation, for the dead. The same euchologion also mentions two more oblations. From one the priest extracts a particle for himself, and from the other the deacon takes a particle for himself and those whom he would like to commemorate. These particles are placed on the paten next to the Lamb.

And yet there are other twelfth- and fourteenth-century Greek sources, like the description of the Proskomide by Nicholas III Grammaticus, or a liturgical roll of the year 1306 in the monastery of Esphigmenou on Mount Athos, ⁸¹ which differentiate the particles of the apostles from those of the angels, John the Baptist, and the prophets. Other manuscripts of the fourteenth century make special mention of the oblation offered for the saint whose memory is celebrated on the day. ⁸² In the earlier manuscripts the particle for the dead and the living is also a single one.

We may thus conclude that originally one particle was offered for all saints, and that individual particles for the saints and the living and the dead were provided later; that a consistent practice was not universally observed; and that further changes occurred.

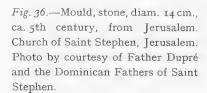
The differences between manuscripts as well as the questions raised about the exact formula and the dates involved make us aware of the inadequacy of our literary sources. In view of this, we hope the evidence of the stamps may prove to be of special significance.

THE STAMPS

At the excavations carried out in the last decades of the nineteenth century in the church of Saint Stephen in Jerusalem, a stone mould was found which, according to the excavators, conformed to the Byzantine rite. Its date was not stated, but its discoverers implied a date approximating that of the church of Saint Stephen in Jerusalem, built between 437 and 460 by the exiled empress Eudocia. 83 As well as the uncertainty of date, the surface of the mould has been weathered

so much that it is impossible to identify the symbols that existed between the arms of the cross. Nevertheless two small crosses and a star can be recognized, which means that we have an early type, not necessarily exclusively connected with the Byzantine rite (Fig. 36).

Since this particular stamp does not answer the questions we have raised, we must return to the group of Early Christian stamps of the type termed cross-in-a-medallion to which this one belongs, to see whether we can find an intermediary link between them and stamps with the formula of John Chrysostom. If such evidence exists, it will certainly fill the gap that is now evident in the Early Byzantine period. To sum up again the main characteristics of these Early Christian stamps: in all of them there appear four divisions, made by a cross, each of which has been emphasized by the addition of the fish, or a small cross, or the letter X, standing for Christ (this could also be interpreted as a crosslet diagonally placed).





On a terra-cotta stamp excavated in Achmim-Panopolis, originally published in Strasbourg as part of the Forrer Collection, and now in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva (no. D917), we find a further development in the use of the symbols placed on each of the four divisions (Fig. 37). It stamp, between the arms of the cross there appear the letters IC XC Θ Y YC (''Jesus Christ, Son of God''). It seems that these letters further develop the idea of the four fish for which they are a substitute. It is not difficult to find a place for this stamp in a sequence of development and to see its significance. In the earliest stamps the fish alone was used on the entire surface. Then the



Fig. 37.—Terra cotta, diam. 7.5 cm., 6th or 7th century, from Achmim-Panopolis. Photo by courtesy of the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva.

cross was introduced as a symbol of Christ and the portions were marked by crosslets or X's representing His name; the name of Christ was further qualified on the present stamp as the name of the Son of God, which is the written substitute for the image of the fish. A further qualification of the name was necessary so that both the power of God and the triumph of Christ should be indicated on the bread by which the faithful partook of Christ's power and triumph. This had already been achieved in the Byzantine period with the introduction of the word NIKA, which substituted for the letters Son of God.

The symbols and letters described in the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom appear on a stone stamp found in Cyprus, now in the British Museum, dating from the sixth or seventh century (Fig. 38). The stamp is pyramidal in shape, and the upper part, which is imperfect, has a stylized floral (?) motif carved on it. The face bears an engraving of a Greek cross within a square. Between the arms of the cross are the letters IC XC NI KA, reversed so as to be impressed in the proper order. The letter A of the syllable KA has been slightly weathered, but an examination of the stamp has left no doubt about the proposed reading. §5

The analogy of Christ as a victorious athlete is, of course, a concept which had wide acceptance in all aspects of Christian life from the time that Constantine brought peace to the Church. 86 In the particular context of eucharistic bread, the assertion that Christ is victorious means that in this sacrament Christ grants victory over sin and death and gives eternal life to whosoever receives the bread.





Fig. 38.—Stone, 2.9 × 2.9 cm., height, 5.5 cm., 6th or 7th century, from Cyprus. Handle and face. Photos by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

In conclusion, the stamp from Achmim-Panopolis points toward the formation of the Byzantine formula; the stamp from Cyprus shows that this formula, described in detail by later Byzantine writers, was already in use in the Early Byzantine Church. But the precise date of its appearance cannot be determined. Nor should it be assumed that it was generally accepted at once, and was stabilized without variations, as a bronze stamp in the Provincial Museum at Brindisi (no. 1373), published by Professor Jurlaro, shows.⁸⁷

The stamp is in the form of a Latin cross with the extremities of the arms rounded and the letters IC XC ("Jesus Christ"), A, and ω in relief (Fig. 39). Its publisher has suggested a date between the ninth and twelfth centuries on the basis of the similarities of the stamp to Middle Byzantine fountains. This does not seem to be a valid criterion for dating. Neither the form nor the symbols support this late date. It is clear that the stamp constitutes a combination of two traditions. One, the Early Christian, is evident in the actual form and the apocalyptic letters. The other presupposes the appearance of the abridged name "Jesus Christ" on the loaf. This would mean that the stamp belongs to a time when the Byzantine type had not appeared or yet been spread. The form also argues against the proposed date. As we shall see later, the sources indicate that in the twelfthcentury Byzantine rite there were only two accepted forms for the eucharistic stamp: the rectangular and the circular. It would be very difficult to believe that despite the statements of the Fathers, people adhering to the Byzantine rite continued for long to use a form in their stamps that belonged to an earlier period. It is more logical to assign the stamp to a period not too far removed from the date of the appearance of the Byzantine formula. A seventh-century date seems



Fig. 39.—Bronze, length 7 cm., width 5.5 cm., ca. 7th century, from Apulia. Stamp and impression. Photo by courtesy of Professor R. Jurlaro, Brindisi.

more plausible. The iconography finds its best parallels in this Early period, and the paleography of the lettering also points to an early date.⁸⁸

The Middle Byzantine Period

During the middle period, when Byzantine civilization reached new heights of greatness, liturgy left its impact on everything: architecture, church decoration, art in its various manifestations, imperial ceremonies, the events of everyday life. Artistic monuments and liturgical manuscripts help the student follow both the radiation and the inner growth of the liturgy. The picture of the liturgy itself is rather complete, but the image of the eucharistic bread provided by the texts is blurred. Literary sources indicate some changes in the ceremony of the Proskomide, and the addition of particles to the principal Host is suggested.89 More questions are raised, however, than answers provided about these particles, as I have already pointed out in outlining the rite of the Proskomide. It is natural, then, to pursue the investigation of the eucharistic bread by way of the stamps, hoping that they throw more light upon it. It would be of interest to know whether the addition of the portions found a place on the stamp, whether, in other words, the particles were seen pressed upon the actual loaf of bread, as soon as they were introduced into the ceremony of the Prothesis.

Historians usually take the date 1204, when Constantinople fell into the hands of the Latins, as the end of the Middle Byzantine period. It so happens that one of the stamps, discussed later, containing different elements, is dated to 1266, five years after the recapture of Constantinople by the Greeks and the return of the Palaeologus dynasty. Considering this, as well as literary evidence from the twelfth century and from the period of the Palaeologi, it is more appropriate to follow the conventional historical division and conclude the Middle Byzantine period at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

LITERARY EVIDENCE FOR FORMS AND SYMBOLS

The patriarch of Constantinople, Nicholas III Grammaticus (1084-IIII), is our main source for bread stamps of this period. Indirectly in his Canons, Nicholas gives us some information about bread, and elsewhere he provides a description of the ceremony of the Proskomide. He makes it clear that there is more than one oblation. The first oblation, known as holy bread or first bread, is the one from which the Lamb is extracted; the other loaves are offered respectively for the Mother of God; the angels; John the Baptist, apostles, prophets, fathers, and all saints; and for the living and the dead. He also leaves no doubt that particles were extracted from each one of these loaves, and shows that this custom was in existence by the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century.90 He further gives instructions about what should be done with the remaining parts of each of the loaves. For example, he states that "that which is left from the loaf which has been blessed (σφραγισθεῖσαν) in honor of the All-Holy Theotokos, the Ever-Virgin Mary, should be eaten alone and not be mixed with meat, milk, cheese or eggs." He does not tell us, however, anything in his Canons or the Proskomide about the stamp that was impressed on these loaves. Whether all loaves bore the same impression, and whether each particle extracted from each different loaf was marked upon the same stamp, are questions which are not answered by the texts.

In his description of the Proskomide, Nicholas speaks more about the stamp on the bread, but he is still not specific. He states that in Constantinople the stamp on the bread was sometimes circular and sometimes rectangular. This means that forms which had appeared in the Early Christian period continued to be used in the twelfth century. In another passage, however, he indicates that there were stamps which included both the circular and the rectangular form: "... the sign of the cross is made on the bread thrice with the lance while the officiating priest recites, 'The name of our Lord, God and Redeemer, Jesus Christ Who sacrificed Himself for the salvation of the

world.' Then, if not many officiating clergymen are in the *bema* [sanctuary], the stamp is extracted in a rectangular way; but if many officiating clergymen are in the *bema*, the entire surface of the anaphora is taken out in a circular manner.''92

Obviously Nicholas makes a distinction between σφραγίδα ("stamp") and anaphora, although he does not explain the difference. Certainly in this sense the word anaphora does not refer to the loaf of bread, since the word bread (ἄρτος) has been used earlier. It must apply to the entire circular impression on the bread, whereas σφραγίδα, which is "extracted in a rectangular way," must refer to the rectangle with the cross and the letters IC XC NI KA which are included in the circle, that is, the actual Lamb.

If we look at the stamp from Achmim-Panopolis or at other post-Byzantine eucharistic stamps, the exact meaning of Nicholas's passage can be understood clearly (see Figs. 37, 52–58). He does not refer to a new form of eucharistic bread stamp. In another thirteenth-century document, reference is made to a large seal (stamp)— μεγάλη σφραγίδα or Δεσποτική—and a small one—μικρή σφραγίδα. Apparently the large seal is related to the Holy Bread, the small one to the particles. It is not clear whether one should take this testimony literally and deduce a difference in size between impressions, as is seen in post-Byzantine examples (Fig. 54).

THE EVIDENCE OF THE STAMPS

Problems related to the appearance of differentiations of the individual portions placed next to the Lamb should be investigated first. These could be solved if they were marked upon the stamps.

Important evidence is provided by a wooden stamp found in Palestine (Fig. 40). It was excavated in the mid-twentieth century near a stove, perhaps used for baking bread, in the sacristy of a Byzantine monastery in the locality called "Dominus Flevit" on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem. The monastery was destroyed in the ninth century, a date which must be the *terminus ante quem* for the stamp. Now located in the Museum of Flagellation in the room which contains ancient Christian relics, the stamp has been published by Professor Bagatti. It is rectangular and simple in form, with a handle, two



Fig. 40.—Wood, 5×5 cm., height, 2.7 cm., before 9th century, from "Dominus Flevit," Jerusalem. Museum of Flagellation, Jerusalem. Stamp and impression. Photos by courtesy of Professor P. B. Bagatti, Jerusalem.

Eucharistic Bread

sloping sides, and a square face on which the composition to be impressed on the loaf is carved. A cross enclosed in a rectangle divides the face into four sections. On the upper right division, Bagatti sees the letter X, and on the division below, the letter N. On the basis of the photographs, I would add a C next to the X. But whether this is accurate or not is insignificant since the letters stand for XPICTOC NIKA ("Christ is victorious"). On the upper left corner is a symbol, or letters, difficult to identify. Bagatti sees a triangle which constitutes the particle of the Virgin Mary in the Byzantine rite. Perhaps this symbol may well be the letters IC (Jesus) with the long dash above them suggesting the abbreviation. Below this section there are three broken horizontal lines which, according to the same scholar, represent the nine hierarchies of angels, for each of which, in contemporary usage, a separate particle is placed next to the Lamb.

In examining the problematic parts of the stamp it should be realized that wood is a perishable material and weathering may have caused drastic changes on the composition. Furthermore the proposed interpretation should be related to other evidence, particularly the one furnished by contemporary examples.

In these, neither the particle of Mary nor the letters MP Θ Y that mark it always form a triangle (cf. Fig. 54). ⁹⁵ Moreover, the custom of marking the portion of the Mother of God with the initials of her title already existed in the Byzantine period, as is shown by at least one example from Sinai, dated to the thirteenth century, to be discussed later (Fig. 42). There is no indication of any triangle on this Sinai example either, a fact that renders the excavator's interpretation unlikely.

The section below also presents difficulties in explanation. If the exact particles were those indicated by the three broken lines, then we must admit that we have only six individual particles and not nine, which would indicate not the particles of the nine orders of angels specifically, but rather particles in general that may have included that of the Mother of God as well.

Although the number of particles and their precise interpretation can be argued, the fact remains that this section of the stamp indicates their presence and does not contain the letters KA. If the section above it contains the letters IC, as we think it does, then we can say that the KA was omitted to make room for another particle or particles,

with no specific differentiation, that were added to the Lamb during the Prothesis. The date of the stamp is not necessarily the date of the introduction of this usage, which may have taken place before the ninth century. It means, however, that by the ninth century—and this is important—particles had already been added to the Lamb.

If we now consider the fact that particles were not placed in the chalice before the communion of the people was completed, there can be no doubt that, in some cases at least, in the ninth century at the Fraction of the Bread, the Lamb was cut into three and not four pieces. What the arrangement of these portions on the paten would have been, we do not know, but probably they formed a Tcross. Occasional references to three portions in later manuscripts confirm the evidence of the stamp, which is further corroborated by a Byzantine circular gold amulet in the collection of Madame Hélène Stathatos, in Athens, published by Dr. M. Chatzidakis. 96 Dating from the tenth century (thus not too far removed from the stamp), it has an inscription in Greek which reads in translation: "it contains [one] of the three portions." Chatzidakis correctly associated the amulet with the eucharistic bread. In the light of my discussion I can add that it must probably have belonged to a priest who was entitled to receive a portion separately, since by the tenth century the people partook of both elements from the chalice.

It is clear, therefore, that the stamps antedate any literary evidence concerning the changes that occurred in the actual celebration of the Proskomide. Whereas the texts put the emphasis on the spoken ritual, the stamps show what was done in practice.

One must not, however, imagine that the custom of showing the portions on the stamp was generalized once it was introduced, and that it followed a steady development leading into the differentiation of the added portions. The stamps do not bear this out, as at least one example, discussed below, shows. Nor should we assume that all particles were now extracted from one loaf of bread. Individual loaves were and still are used. However, we can be sure that all these loaves bore the same impression. The reason for introducing the particles next to the Lamb on the stamp, and therefore on the oblation, was symbolic, as we shall see at the end of this study.

A circular terra-cotta stamp, now in the Provincial Museum, Brindisi (no. 1234), shows the formula of John Chrysostom without the

particles (Fig. 41). It has been published by Professor Jurlaro, who dates it, logically, at the end of the twelfth century on the basis of the name, which appears around the base of the handle, and the lettering. In this case it can be suggested that the circular form had local, special significance. It corresponds to the evidence, possibly representing a usage of sourthern Italy and Sicily, in a manuscript of the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom dating from the twelfth century which reads, "and after the prayer [the priest] having taken the prosphora cuts it in a circle. . . ." This would imply that the stamp on the bread was circular and that the priest simply followed the line of the circle in extracting the stamp, as he certainly would have done if he had used the Brindisi stamp.

Yet we should not place too much emphasis on such correspondence between the actual stamp from Brindisi and the manuscript evidence, because in Constantinople too, as we have seen, the impression of the stamp was either circular or rectangular.

The Late Byzantine Period

Few eucharistic bread stamps remain from the last three centuries of the Byzantine empire before its final fall into the hands of the Turks in the mid-fifteenth century. Some possible reasons for this were suggested in the Introduction to this book. However, the extant examples are both interesting and illuminating.

LITERARY EVIDENCE FOR FORMS AND SYMBOLS

During the Late Byzantine period we have two main literary sources which give us some indirect and fragmentary information about ceremonies performed with the bread: the writings of Nicholas Cabasilas (ca. 1300) and Symeon of Thessalonica (d. 1430). The latter provides more deductions about the stamps than the former, and for this reason Symeon is of greater interest to us here. Yet the symbolism of Cabasilas is more precise than that of Symeon, and it would be of profit to the reader to familiarize himself with the relevant passages in Cabasilas's Commentary on the Divine Liturgy in order to become aware of the great meaning attached to the ceremonies performed with the bread and the explanation for the intriguing silence of the



Fig. 4r.—Terra cotta, diam. 4.5 cm., end of the 12th century, from Apulia. Provincial Museum, Brindisi. Photo by courtesy of Professor R. Jurlaro, Brindisi.

various writers about the actual bread, its impressions, and the stamps which were used for them.

Stamps certainly existed; they were seen by all and were known to the faithful; it was their meaning that had to be taught. Here are some extracts from Cabasilas's text, in the excellent translation of Professor J. M. Hussey and Miss P. A. McNulty:

5. Why all the bread is not offered, but only a part of it

Another point must be made clear, i.e. the reason why not all the loaves offered are consecrated to God and afterwards borne to the altar for sacrifice, but only that part which the priest cuts off.

Here again the offering up of Christ takes on a special character. In the case of other offerings, those to whom they belonged would select them from among other things of the same kind, take them to the temple and deliver them into the hands of the priests. The priests received, dedicated, and sacrificed them, or disposed of each offering as was proper.

But it is Christ himself, in his capacity as priest, who set apart the Body of the Lord, offered it up, took it to himself and consecrated it to God, and



who sacrificed it. It is the Son of God in person who separated himself from the mass of humankind; it is he who has offered himself to God. He placed this offering in his Father's bosom, he who, while never absent from that bosom, created this body here below and clothed himself with it, in such wise that it was given to God as soon as it was made. And finally, it was Christ himself who bore this body to the Cross and sacrificed it.

That is why the bread which is to be changed into his body is separated from the rest of the loaves by the priest, who places it on the holy paten and consecrates it to God; then he carries it to the altar and offers it up in sacrifice.

6. Why the priest marks the bread with the symbols of Christ's Passion

As long as it remains in the *prothesis*, the bread thus separated from the rest is still only bread. But it has acquired a new characteristic—it is dedicated to God; it has become an offering, since it represents our Lord during the first phase of his life on earth, when he became an oblation. Now this happened at the moment of his birth, as has been said, for, as the first-born, he was offered up from birth, in accordance with the Law. But the pains which Christ endured afterwards for our salvation, his Cross and Death, had been symbolized beforehand in the Old Testament. That is why the priest marks the loaf with these symbols before carrying it to the altar and sacrificing it. How does he do this? When he takes it from the other loaves and offers it up, he engraves upon it, as if on a tablet, the emblems of the passion and death of our Saviour. All his actions, those dictated by necessity as well as those which are consciously symbolic, are made to fit into this framework; thus they are all, as it were, a dramatization of Christ's sufferings and death.

In the same way, the priest expresses in words or represents by his gestures all that he knows of the solemn sacrifice, as far as he can with the means at his disposal. Thus he shows how the Lord began his Passion, how he died, how his side was pierced with a lance and how, as the Gospel tells us, blood and water flowed from the wound. The aim of these ceremonies is in the first place, as I have shown, to remind us that, just as the priest marks the bread with the emblems of sacrifice before carrying it to the altar and lifting it up, so these Divine happenings were themselves heralded and signified to us beforehand by types and figures. Secondly, they show that this bread is, as it were, eager to be transformed into that true Bread which is Christ crucified and sacrificed. Finally, since we are calling to mind the death of the Lord, their purpose is to ensure that no means of presentation is omitted in the endeavour to express the meaning of this happening, which the voices of a thousand throats could not adequately make clear; the priest does what he can both in word and in action.

7. The commemoration of the Lord

First of all, holding the bread from which the sacred Host is to be taken, the priest says: "In memory of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ." Thereby he obeys his command, for he said: "Do this in remembrance of me." These words pronounced by the priest apply not only to the bread but to the whole liturgy; he begins with this commemoration and ends with it. . . .

8. Ceremonies performed with the bread

Because it is fitting that we should commemorate the Lord in this way, the priest, after having said the words, "In memory of our Lord," performs ceremonies which symbolize the Cross and Death of Christ. While making an incision in the loaf he calls to mind that the prophet of old said of the Saviour's passion: "He is brought as a lamb to the slaughter." He expresses this and the rest of the passage to the best of his ability, both in word and in action. This cutting of the loaf is done for practical reasons—that the Host may be removed—but it has a symbolic value also; it represents our Lord's passing from the world by the road which leads to his Father—death, which he overcame; as he himself said: "I leave the world, and go to the Father."

As the priest thrusts the lance into the loaf several times in making the incisions, so also he divides the words of the Prophet into a corresponding number of sections, combining the different parts with the several strokes of the lance, to show that the action is an application of the word. In the same way that this bread has been separated from other and similar loaves in order that it may be consecrated to God and used in the Holy Sacrifice, so the Lord was set apart from the mass of mankind, whose nature his love had brought him to share. "He is brought as a lamb to the slaughter," and in this way "he was cut off out of the land of the living." And the priest adds the remainder of the passage from the prophet.

Then, placing the Host on the paten, he pronounces words and performs actions which are a direct recollection of the sacrifice and death of our Saviour. "The Lamb of God is sacrificed, he who taketh away the sins of the world." Both the words and the rites show forth the circumstances of Christ's death. The priest carves a cross on the bread, thereby signifying the means by which the sacrifice was accomplished. Then he pierces the right side of the Host; this incision in the bread represents the wound in the Saviour's side. That is why the small metal knife is called a lance and is shaped like one. While the priest recalls these events in this way he repeats the words of the Evangelist: "One of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side." The blood and water which flowed from his holy side are also recalled by the priest, who symbolizes them by pouring wine and water into the

Eucharistic Bread

chalice—another commemoration of the Lord—and saying the words: "And forthwith came there out blood and water." ⁹⁹

Against this background of symbolic gestures and actions we shall have to look at Symeon's symbolism and try to interpret his information about the stamps. His discussion of symbolism takes him on to the actual stamp, but unfortunately the details remain obscure. On the eucharistic stamp, he says, either the cross or the Saviour himself is represented (ή οὐτὸς ὁ Σωτὴρ ἐξεικονιζόμενος). 100 If this is taken literally, it would mean that the cross and the letters IC XC NI KA were not the only symbols impressed on the eucharistic bread in this period.

Cabasilas, speaking about the extraction of the Host, makes no mention of any particular representation; he emphasizes, however, the death and Passion of the Lord. Could we, then, have an image of Christ which the priest pierces several times with the lance? This kind of realism contradicts the high symbolism that prevails during the whole act of the Breaking of the Bread, and we are led to interpret Symeon's passage differently. The word ἐξεικονίζω means "typify." This interpretation is borne out not so much by the fact that no eucharistic stamps with the image of the Saviour on them are known to me, but by the consideration of Cabasilas's text, and particularly by internal evidence found in Symeon's text. In another passage in the same text, Symeon uses the verb ἐξεικονίζω, meaning "typify." 101 Furthermore, in several passages, Symeon speaks of cutting the oblation into four parts. 102 If this is interpreted in the light of earlier evidence, the four parts were formed by a cross. 103 It follows, therefore, that an image of Christ on the eucharistic bread seems most unlikely.

In discussing the symbolism of eucharistic bread, Symeon indirectly furnishes more information about the stamp. He refers to the ἄρτος (''bread'') as being *quadripartitus* and not circular or unleavened.¹⁰⁴ Since in several places Symeon contrasts the word ἄρτος to the word σφραγίς (''stamp''), the above passage appears to be a direct reference to the Lamb.¹⁰⁵ The Orthodox archbishop contrasts the rectangular form of the Lamb to the circular form of the Host used by the Latin Church and, in order to justify his insistence upon the rectangular form, he enters into the discussion of an elaborate symbolism: The

form of the Lamb (τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ ἄρτου) should be τετραμερής; it should consist of four parts because the universe is formed of four parts, the body which Christ assumed at the Incarnation consisted of four elements, the Incarnate Logos sanctified the four ends of heaven and earth; furthermore the form of the Lamb symbolizes the cross on which Christ was crucified and died. So the Lamb referring to the Incarnation must be of four parts, but the entire stamp itself, he says—and this is of special concern here—is circular, for it reveals the divine nature of Christ. Within this circle is the cross; that is, the cross that marks the Lamb, which reveals the Passion and the Incarnation of Christ. So the eucharistic stamp, by the circle and the cross within it, manifests the human and divine natures of Christ, His Incarnation and His Passion. 107

Symeon makes no reference to any other form of eucharistic stamp. And, though he describes the arrangement of the holy bread on the paten as we know it today, he gives no indication that a stamp reflecting this arrangement existed.¹⁰⁸

The exclusive preference for the circular form stated by Symeon was not universally accepted in the Byzantine world. The rectangular form persisted in some areas at least, and a stamp published by Jurlaro is a case in point. ¹⁰⁹ This is a rectangular red clay stamp from Ugento, Apulia. It bears in relief only the letters IC XC NI KA and, on the basis of the paleography, Jurlaro correctly dates it in the fourteenth or fifteenth century. This stamp shows that those who continued to follow the Greek rite in Salento had kept the formula of John Chrysostom unchanged without necessarily knowing of the symbolism of the circle that was proclaimed in the area of Constantinople at the time.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SINAI STAMP AND ITS RELATIVES

The John Chrysostom formula, however, was not the only one used by the Orthodox Church, as a group of eucharistic stamps of various dates illustrate. Among them, the most important is a marble stamp found in the monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai (Fig. 42). The stamp is particularly significant because it is the only example known to me which has a date on it; its iconography is also of special interest.





Fig. 42.—Marble, diam. 11 cm., 1265/66, from Mount Sinai. Monastery of Saint Catherine, Mount Sinai. Photos by courtesy of the Sinai expedition of the Universities of Alexandria-Michigan-Princeton.

Circular in form, the stamp has a handle beautifully adorned with a cross, crosslets, rectangles, and triangles, all engraved in the marble. Around the edge of the reverse side there is the following Arabic inscription:

عمل حبيب بن صدقة وقف (فى) سبيل الله تعالى بتأريخ شهر كانون سنة اربعة وسبعون وسبع مائة وست الاف.

Its translation reads: "The work of Hahib ibn Sadaqa, a gift [in] God's service on the date of the month of Kanun in the year 6774." The date complies only with the Byzantine system of chronology and, since the month of Kanun can be either December or January, the corresponding date of the Christian Era is A.D. 1265 or 1266.

The main face of the stamp consists of a large medallion which includes sixteen complete small squares, of which twelve bear a cross. The central four have the following letters: IC XC, MH Θ Y ("Jesus Christ," "Mother of God"). Around the medallion and along the edge of the stamp there is the following Greek inscription which repeats the words of the institution of the sacrament pronounced by the priest at the Anaphora: $+ \Lambda ABETE \Phi AFETE TOYTO ECTHN TO C GMA MOY TO Y TO Y TO Y TO W MENON; "Take, eat: This is My Body which is broken for you."$

There is no doubt that this is a eucharistic bread stamp made in the year 1265 or 1266 and that Hahib ibn Sadaqa was either the artisan or the donor.

The formula on the stamp does not conform in every respect to the eucharistic formula of John Chrysostom. The central four squares constitute the Lamb and the particle of the Mother of God. The latter has taken the place of the letters NI KA, that is, the second part of the inscription IC XC NI KA normally found on Byzantine stamps. The twelve squares with the crosslets belong to another liturgical tradition exemplified by a number of earlier stamps.

Several years ago during excavations carried out at the church of Saint Stephen in Jerusalem, a eucharistic stone stamp was found for which the excavators implied a fifth-century date, describing the church as "une basilique byzantine archaïque." It seems that the stamp, not well preserved, is of the same date as the church. It is divided into several square compartments, each containing a small diagonal cross which can best be described as a crosslet or the letter X (Fig. 43).

Two stamps identical with the above, but made of terra cotta, exist in the Byzantine Museum, Athens. One (no. 289) is complete and the other (no. 293) in fragmentary condition (Figs. 44, 45). The latter was found in the debris from the excavations of the Acropolis at Athens and cannot be dated on this evidence, though my feeling is that both these stamps date from before the seventh century. Another similar

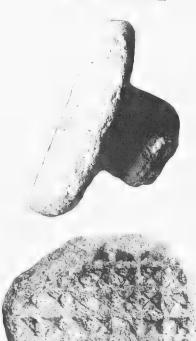


Fig. 43.—Stone, diam. 14 cm., 5th century, from Jerusalem. Church of Saint Stephen, Jerusalem. Photos by courtesy of Father Dupré and the Dominican Fathers of Saint Stephen, Jerusalem.

example made of marble, probably of an early date too, was formerly in the museum at the church of Saint Peter at Gallicante in Jerusalem. In 2 I do not know whether it is now elsewhere or was destroyed in the war of 1948 together with other items of that collection. Fortunately there is a good illustration, published several years ago, which makes possible the inclusion of this example. The stamp had two faces, one (diam. 21 cm.) larger than the other, with a cylindrical handle between them. In addition to the several squares and crosslets, just as in the Sinai stamp, there was a Greek inscription around the edge of the stamp in capital letters which read: IC + CX EN APXH HN O ΛΟΓΟC KAI O ΛΟΓΟC HN ΠΡΟC TON ΘΕΟΝ (John 1:1).

All these examples clearly suggest the division of the loaf into several portions. Furthermore, the Sinai stamp shows that the Lamb can be broken into two rather than four pieces assuming that the sections suggest portions as they do in the eucharistic formula of John Chrysostom. It is

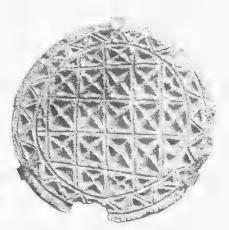


Fig. 44.—Terra cotta, diam. 12.4 cm., 6th century (?), from Athens. Photo by courtesy of the Byzantine Museum, Athens.



Fig. 45.—Terra cotta, diam. 14 cm., 6th century (?), from Attica (?). Photo by courtesy of the Byzantine Museum, Athens.

in the Liturgy of Saint James, the Brother of our Lord, that the Holy Bread is broken into two pieces first and then divided into several smaller portions. A simple portion is placed in one of the chalices, for, according to this liturgy, more than one chalice and loaf of consecrated bread are used. The Fraction of the Bread takes place as follows. The priest breaks the bread into two parts and holds one half in each hand. He dips the right portion into the chalice with the wine, saying, "Union of the all-holy Body with the precious blood of the Lord God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ." With this piece he signs the portion he holds in his left hand. He then dips the left portion into the chalice and signs the right one with it. The two portions are put together and dipped slightly into the chalice, and, after they are lifted up, they are used to sign the remaining Hosts. When the signing of the Hosts is completed, their division into pieces follows. 113

Certainly this rite has derived from what was originally a ritual necessity. It is known that in the Early Church the Communion bread

Eucharistic Bread

was divided into several pieces so that it might be distributed to the participants. For example, the Syrian Father Narsai (d. 502) says in one of his homilies speaking of the Sacrament: "He [the officiant] now begins to break the Body little by little that it may be easy to distribute to all the receivers." 114

A small piece was placed on the communicant's right palm, which he supported with his left palm as he stood by the altar. He would slowly lift up his palm until the portion held therein touched his eyes and sanctified them; then, in fear and trembling lest he lose a small particle, he would consume the portion. The indication on the bread of these consecrated portions facilitated both its cutting and its distribution, as the stamps show.

While the earlier examples reveal this rite in a pure form, the Sinai stamp is a conflation of the two liturgical traditions. And herein lies its importance; it is the first definite example which clearly "names" the particle of the Mother of God.

The Liturgy of Saint James is considered to embody the Syrian rite. It was taken by the Church of Antioch from Jerusalem sometime between 400 and 430, became the official liturgy of the Patriarchate of Antioch, and was introduced to the areas that came under its jurisdiction. It is followed to this day by the Syrians, who use the translation of the Greek text, and it is performed twice a year in the Byzantine Church. One of these occasions is the Sunday after Christmas. It so happens that this coincides with the month found in the inscription around the Sinai stamp, and we are prompted to suggest that the stamp was made specifically for, or given to, the monastery for the celebration of this liturgy.

The Sinai stamp and its relatives now make possible an introduction at least to the eucharistic stamps used by other eastern Churches which separated from the Byzantine Church. They are mentioned for the sake of completeness, and at this point, so that their dependence on the types used in the Byzantine Church can be shown.

Stamps in Eastern Churches Other than the Byzantine

In general the eucharistic stamps of the Coptic and Ethiopic Churches are mainly variations of the type of stamp that conformed to the Liturgy of Saint James. The case of the Jacobite Syrians is not so clear. The eastern Syrians continue the tradition of the cross-in-a-medallion type, from which the eucharistic formula of John Chrysostom derived, while the Armenians, with the use of unleavened bread and the representation of the crucifixion, form a case outside this study. In particular the Coptic and Ethiopic stamps are as follows.

The Coptic Church, which separated from the Byzantine Church on the occasion of the condemnation of Dioscurus, patriarch of Alexandria, by the fourth ecumenical council in 451,¹¹⁸ has adopted a type of stamp clearly relating to the Saint James formula discussed above. Upon the leavened round loaf (diam. 6–7 cm., thickness 2 cm.) is impressed a cross consisting of twelve little squares, each containing a diagonally placed crosslet, symbolizing the twelve Apostles; sometimes five small holes representing the five wounds of Christ are seen on the loaf. Around the edge there appears the trisagion: AΓΙΟC Ο ΘΕΟC, ΑΓΙΟC ΙCΧΥΡΟC, ΑΓΙΟC ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟC ("Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal"). The two stamps reproduced here are modern (Figs. 46, 47).¹¹⁹ But Stryzgowsky has published an identical one made of wood which probably dates from the year 1156.¹²⁰

In the central square one recognizes the cross-in-a-rectangle type, whose contribution, therefore, must not be ignored. It is possible that both types were in current use in the Byzantine Church when the Copts formed their own Church and that both types were utilized by them for the creation of their own eucharistic stamp. This would not be surprising if one remembers that the three Coptic liturgies derived from translations of Greek prototypes. 121 It is with this square, called isbodikon, meaning "of the Lord," which corresponds to the Byzantine Lamb, that the priest in the Coptic rite blesses once the Holy Blood; he then puts the square into the chalice before the Communion takes place. 122

One explanation concerning the origin of the inscription around the edge has been suggested by Dölger.¹²³ It was customary in the Early Church, before a meal started and the bread was cut for distribution, to make the sign of the cross thrice over the loaf and utter a prayer of thanks. An example of this custom, which continues to this day in some parts of the Orthodox world, is given by Saint Athanasius, patriarch of Alexandria, in his advice to a young novice, con-





Fig. 46.—Coptic, wood, diam. 7 cm. Stamp and bread. Photo by courtesy of the Pontificio Istituto Orientale, Rome.

tained in an essay On Virginity attributed to him. The prayer concluded with the words "Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal." Eventually this conclusion to the spoken prayer was pressed upon the actual loaf. Thus it found a place on the stamp. Although this is a plausible interpretation, it seems more probable that this trisagion was borrowed from the Coptic liturgies, where it was introduced in the fifth century.¹²⁴

The Church of Abyssinia sprang from Alexandria. It was established about the year 340 by Frumentius, who was ordained by Saint Athanasius. During the Monophysitic controversy and the schism that came about in the patriarchate of Alexandria at the fourth ecumenical council, the Abyssinian Church sided with the Monophysitic patriarch and became dependent on his see until rather recent years. In their loaves, which are round and leavened (diam. ca. 10–12 cm., thickness 2 cm.), the Abyssinians impress a cross of nine squares, each including a diagonal crosslet, with four squares added to the angles of the cross (Fig. 48). This type seems to be another variation of the same iconographic tradition. The origins of the eucharistic bread of the other eastern rites are not so obvious.

In the Syrian Church (west Syrian) whose members have been known since the sixth century as Jacobites, after their principal leader Jacobus Baradaeus, bishop of Edessa (543–578), the eucharistic bread has the following symbols. The entire surface is divided into



Fig. 47.—Coptic, wood, diam. 7 cm. Photo by courtesy of the Deutsches Brotmuseum, Ulm, Germany.



Fig. 48.—Ethiopian, wood, diam. 12 cm. Photo by courtesy of the Pontificio Istituto Orientale, Rome.

four equal parts by two crossed lines, a reflection of the cross-in-a-medallion type. The central part is marked by a circle and on each of the four segments there is a diagonal crosslet, recalling certain Early Christian stamps, like the one in Cairo discussed earlier in this chapter. On the remainder of the loaf, between the circle and the perimeter, each of the four divisions is further divided into two sections, each with a cross, thus making a total of twelve, symbol of the twelve Apostles.¹²⁶ The numerous holes symbolize the seventy-two followers of Christ.

Among other examples of west Syrian eucharistic stamps, one that was acquired in Egypt and is now in the collection of the Brotmuseum at Ulm is of special interest (Fig. 49). The stamp, published here for the first time, is made of stone and is of undetermined date but appears



Fig. 49.—West Syrian, stone, diam. 12 cm., date uncertain, possibly early, from Egypt. Photos by courtesy of the Deutsches Brotmuseum, Ulm, Germany.

old. Not all divisions described above (found in contemporary examples; cf. Fig. 50) are clearly marked on its design; its central cross terminates in three branches. These differences could be explained through a variation of the standard design which must have existed. The type of cross with trifurcating ends finds its best parallels in sixth-century monuments, but one cannot know by this criterion alone whether the stamp should be assigned to this date.

The eastern Syrians, known as Nestorians after they sided with Nestorianism during the Monophysitic controversy in the fifth century, use a round leavened loaf (diam. ca. 5–6 cm., thickness r cm.) stamped with a cross and four small crosses around its arms. ¹²⁷ The letter X

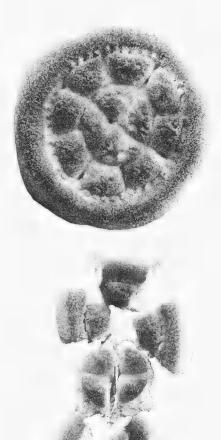


Fig. 50.—West Syrian eucharistic bread before and after the Fraction. Photos by courtesy of Bishop Athanasius Ephraim of the Syrian Orthodox Church in Lebanon.

(for Christ) is suggested either by the central cross or the crosslets (Fig. 51). In either case this stamp resembles a special eucharistic stamp used by the Jacobite Syrians for a special occasion, the Sunday of the encaenia; an example of this type was published by Rücker several years ago.¹²⁸ The main difference is that the encaenia stamp





Fig.57—Nestorian, wood, diam.6cm. Photos by courtesy of Bishop Narsay E. De Baz, Assyrian Bishop of Lebanon.

bears numerous dots that are not found in the Nestorian example. The dependence of this composition on the Early Christian cross-in-a-medallion type is obvious.

Stamps in the Post-Byzantine Greek Orthodox Church

Examples of bread stamps from the post-Byzantine period either show the old Byzantine type of John Chrysostom and variations within it, or they display further developments that should be followed up here for the sake of completeness.

The double-faced wooden stamp whose impressions appear on the oblations illustrated in Figure 32 has been in the possession of a

family on the island of Patmos for several generations, but its exact date cannot be determined. The fact that it is double is not an unusual feature. The small face, simply the top of the handle, repeats the old traditional formula of John Chrysostom in its simplest form; the particles are not included. The other face contains the same formula repeated four times within a rectangle; thus other particles are provided but not named. It is clear that both faces represent a more traditional type which has persisted, as several extant examples show (Figs. 52, 53). 129

Other examples found in the monasteries of Mount Athos, the Pontificio Istituto Orientale in Rome, the Institute of Eastern Churches



Fig. 52.—Dimensions, 5.5 \times 5.5 cm. Collection of the author.



Fig. 53.—Dimensions, 7.5×8.5 cm. Monastery of Saint Catherine, Mount Sinai. Photo by courtesy of the Sinai Expedition of the Universities of Alexandria-Michigan-Princeton.

Eucharistic Bread

in Würzburg, Germany, the Deutsches Brotmuseum at Ulm, and elsewhere, represent a more developed type with regard to both the differentiation of the portions and the arrangement, which mirrors the arrangement of the bread on the eucharistic paten.

The first example of this type included here comes from Karyai on Mount Athos and is preserved in the Institute of Eastern Churches in Würzburg (Fig. 54). This circular stamp includes five medallions arranged in the form of a cross. The central one, which is the largest, contains a square with a cross and the letters IC XC NI KA. This is the Lamb. One of the two medallions to the right of the Lamb (on the stamp) contains a square with the letters MO and two lances, marking the part offered in honor of the Mother of God during the consecration of the elements. The lower left medallion includes nine triangles corresponding to the nine hierarchies of angels and saints described by Dionysius the Areopagite. The other two medallions, which repeat the central one, must be the particles for the living and the dead.

The next example—in the collection of the Pontificio Istituto Orientale in Rome—contains, in addition to the particles of Mary and the nine orders of angels, four more medallions with the IC XC NI KA formula, arranged in a circle around the Lamb, destined for other individual portions (Fig. 55).

Another modern wooden bread stamp containing five portions arranged in the form of a Greek cross within a circle, belonging to the Greek Orthodox community of Berlin, was published by Stuhlfauth many years ago. ¹³⁰ He saw in Mary's portion not the usual abbreviation of the title "Mother of God" but the letter alpha: this prompted him to suggest that the nine small triangles of the portion of the heavenly host constituted a modification of the letter omega which had been there originally. Since it is true that in modern examples the particle of Mary does not always contain the "Mother of God" abbreviation, one can go as far as to see in it the letter alpha, but there are no traces of the letter omega, and one simply cannot derive from it the symbols of the heavenly host. The actual story of the old eucharistic stamps makes such a suggestion untenable.

Early Christian examples with the apocalyptic letters are rare (cf. Fig. 39), and, to my knowledge, there is no Byzantine example that



Fig. 54.—Diam. 9 cm. Photo by courtesy of the Ostkirchliches Institut, Würzburg.



Fig. 55.—Diam. 9 cm. Photo by courtesy of the Pontificio Istituto Orientale, Rome.

can be used as a link to prove the transformation of an omega into nine triangles. What in some examples seems to be an alpha in the particle of Mary may well be the result of an attempt to fit her letters into the triangle, the form that her particle assumed when it was cut. In other words, we see here a further development of the Byzantine type under the impact of actual use. Two examples, made of wood, from my own collection, can illustrate these points (Figs. 56, 57).

I do not know the date of these stamps, which were acquired in northern Greece some years ago. Perhaps they were made in the early part of the last century, if not earlier. In both of them the particles are arranged in the form of the cross—that is, the form they actually take on the paten after the bread has been broken. The left and right



Fig. 56.—Diam. 11.5 cm. Collection of the author.

arms of the cross are formed by the particles of the heavenly host and of Mary. A variation of this type can be seen in another example of a more recent date still used in Crete (Fig. 58).

If we now compare the larger of the two stamps (Fig. 56) to those in Sinai, Würzburg, and the Pontificio Istituto (Figs. 42, 54, 55), we can see the changes in the particle of Mary. The Sinai stamp contains Mary's initials in two separate squares. In the second example the initials have been transferred to one square and are placed one above the other so as to be included in the triangle formed when the particle was cut. The third stamp shows the initials inscribed within a trapezoid, a form dictated by the straight line placed on top of the letter Θ . The larger of my stamps (Fig. 56) is further developed, in its delineation of the triangle which includes the initials. The lower part of this triangle is formed by two smaller triangles, the outlines of which clearly mark the letter M; the upper part is a schematized letter Θ . In the other stamp (Fig. 57), which is smaller, the letters can no longer be distinguished and the triangle seems to contain what may be described as a reversed Latin cross with rays. Whether the artisan misunderstood his model or had in mind some specific symbol other than the letters of Mary, we cannot tell.

In the large stamp we see another important symbol marking the two lower triangles: that of the star. I have shown elsewhere that the star often adorning Mary's mantle was used to suggest her relation to the Holy Trinity through the Incarnation.¹³¹ Undoubtedly the stars





Fig. 57.—Diam. 9 cm. Collection of the author.

have been added to the particle to clarify even further the meaning of the triangle, itself symbol of the Trinity, and to make a reference to the Grace that shone upon her who was chosen to be the vehicle of the Incarnated God. The Incarnation and the Passion are indicated by the small cross in the upper part of the triangle. The cross itself has been partly formed by the horizontal bar of the letter Θ .



Fig. 58.—From Crete. Diam. 9 cm. Photo by courtesy of the Deutsches Brotmuseum, Ulm, Germany.

Special attention, however, should be paid to the presence of the lances on the particle of Mary. Here we must recall Cabasilas's words about the symbols of Christ's Passion in the ceremony of the Prothesis (see sec. 6 in the excerpt quoted above). Not only does the officiant use the lance, but he marks the loaf with the symbols of the Passion before carrying the bread to the altar. It was natural that in the course of time the lance, the most eminent symbol, would be given a special place on the eucharistic stamp. Its place on the portion of Mary finds analogous antecedents in Byzantine iconography, which related the symbols of the Passion to Mary in more than one instance; for example, the iconographic type of the Virgin of the Passion.

Such an iconographic type must have been in the mind of the creator of the stamp in Figure 56, or of its model, when he deviated from the other examples in substituting a sponge for one of the lances appearing on either side of the triangle. In icons the lance and the sponge are borne by the archangel Michael. The relation of these symbols to icons of the Virgin suggests the first half of the sixteenth century as the *terminus post quem* for the introduction of this motif on a stamp, for it was then that the type of the Virgin with the Symbols of the Passion was finally crystallized. 132

However, apart from the form and symbols on the various particles, the presence of additional crosses and ornamental motifs in the post-Byzantine examples should be noted. In the Würzburg stamp, for example, one sees four Latin crosses with rays between the medallions of the individual particles, and a shell-like ornament which beautifully

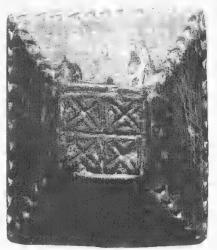
fills the empty spaces created. Crosses also fill the corners between the arms of the central cross in one of my stamps (Fig. 57), while in the other stamp (Fig. 56) the corners are filled by what may be termed birdlike creatures. All the symbols, of course, are traditional.

In some cases the persistence of a long tradition is striking. In a post-Byzantine wooden stamp which is still in use in the island of Crete, one sees the particles enclosed within a star, a symbol that recalls bread stamps of the first Christian centuries (Fig. 59). A Latin cross carved in the center divides the stamp into four sections, each containing one of the particles. That on the upper left corner resembles Early Christian designs with cubical ornaments between the arms of the cross suggesting the division of the particle into four parts. On the reverse of another stamp from the same island one recognizes an Early Christian type with the four X's arranged between the arms of the cross (Fig. 60; cf. Figs. 29, 30). Other examples show the survival of forms that were used for eucharistic and other kinds of bread stamps in the Early Church (Fig. 61; cf. Figs. 21, 85, 86).

But one should not seek to explain the presence of all designs on modern stamps in terms of special symbolism. They are the result of popular imagination and display the artisan's love for his craft and the fine workmanship in which, to this day, he still takes pride. These stamps, after all, are not sacred objects only. They are works of popular art, and as such they deserve the attention of any scholar who would attempt to discuss folk art of the Orthodox Church (see Fig. 62 for a further example).



Fig. 59.—From Crete. Diam. ca. 9 cm. Photo by courtesy of the Deutsches Brotmuseum, Ulm, Germany.



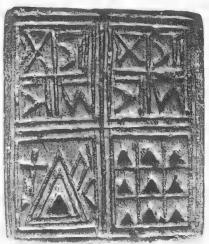


Fig. 60.—From Crete. Diam. 7 × 8 cm. Photos by courtesy of the Deutsches Brotmuseum, Ulm, Germany.

We must now return to the question raised by the differentiation of the portions and their collection into one stamp. How does this arrangement relate to earlier stamps? Literary sources that I have cited repeatedly give no indication at all that this existed on stamps. 133 Extant stamps of the Byzantine period do not show the present-day distinctions or arrangement. If the distinctions did exist, their usage



Fig. 61.—From Crete. Diam. 8.5 × 8.5 cm. Photo by courtesy of the Deutsches Brotmuseum, Ulm, Germany.





Fig. 62.—From Crete. Diam. ca. 9cm. Photos by courtesy of the Deutsches Brotmuseum, Ulm, Germany.

could not have been generally established, as the "Dominus Flevit" and Sinai stamps (Figs. 40, 42), chronologically quite distant from each other, show.

Most probably the assembling of all portions on one stamp represents a later, post-Byzantine phase in the development of the eucharistic bread. The stamps lead one to this conclusion, which is corroborated by literary evidence as well. In a euchologion dating from the fifteenth century, in the description of the Prothesis, one reads that after the extractions of the Lamb the priest takes the second oblation, offered in honor of the Mother of God, and "having extracted the particle which is in the very center [of the oblation] places it to the right of the Lamb, that is, on the side of his left hand."134 This suggests only two possibilities: either the stamp had in its center only the formula of the Lamb, with no indication of the particle of the Mother of God, or her particle was impressed in the very center of the oblation, as it appears on the Sinai stamp. Whichever possibility one chooses, the essential fact remains the same: the particle of Mary was not placed to the right of the Lamb on the stamp. Therefore, by the fifteenth century this arrangement was either entirely unknown or not widely accepted.

However, the completion of this development (i.e., the assembling of all portions on one stamp) does not mean that the officiant extracts the various parts of the bread to be placed on the paten from the same cake of bread. He continues to this day the old custom of extracting the various portions from various cakes. The inclusion of each piece in the same cake of bread in a way that reflected the eucharistic paten had a symbolic significance which will become clearer when it is discussed within the context of the liturgy.

4 THE EULOGIA BREAD

The ceremonial use of bread in the church is not confined to the Sacrament. As stated in Chapter I, other kinds of religious bread are used that were not greatly differentiated from each other during the first centuries. Some of these loaves are associated directly with the eucharistic rites, for they are placed on the altar with the oblations that are to be used for the Eucharist. Other loaves play a part in special celebrations only. They are either offered by the faithful for a specific purpose, or given to them.¹ This kind of bread corresponds to the offerings presented by the pagans on special occasions, such as the cakes, whose purpose was to ward off evil, offered on the festival of Isis in Egypt, or the cakes that commemorated the festival of Artemis.

Literary Evidence from the Early Church

How these loaves were distinguished from each other, and how they differed, if they did, from the eucharistic bread, we cannot tell on the basis of the literary sources. We can assume that they had certain characteristics, but we cannot prove them. The difficulty lies mainly in the very term *eulogia*, which has been applied by Christians indiscriminately to several types of religious bread. It is important to present first the various meanings of this word, for, as we shall see, the term appears on a group of bread stamps and has a bearing on their interpretation.

Literally, the word means "blessing" and can be applied, as indeed it has been, to anything that has received and carries a blessing. In the New Testament the word is synonymous with εὐχαριστία, but gradually it acquired a special meaning deriving mainly from the various practices and ceremonial uses of the bread, which grew from the celebration of the Sacrament itself.³

In apostolic times, the Eucharist was performed in private houses, and at times Communion was taken home or was sent to those, such as the sick and prisoners, unable to attend the actual celebration. To the sick, the Eucharist brought health, since it was considered to have healing powers. Related to this practice was the custom, already in use in the second century, of sending the Eucharist from one church to another as a sign of communion and affection, a custom which in Rome continued for long under the name of fermentum.⁴

A time arrived, however, when it became clear that to send the Body and Blood of Christ out of the church so often involved dangers. The reverence owed to the Sacrament and the receipt of the Eucharist itself by everyone were matters of concern. Not everyone could participate in the Eucharist, either because of being spiritually unprepared or because of being under penance. And yet the communion of all Christians around the body of Christ ought to have been made possible. A need, therefore, arose for a substitute for the Eucharist—loaves or fragments of bread which could be given to the faithful as a reassurance of their participation in the body of the Church, its rites, and its blessings. This bread was named *eulogia*.

Saint Paulinus, who was bishop of Nola from 409 to 431, spoke of this bread which had received special benediction and was sent by bishops or priests to others as a sign of communion and affection.⁵ By extension, however, the term was applied to all presents sent by Christians to each other.⁶ Aetheria, or Egeria, a nun, probably from Spain and of noble birth—perhaps a member of a senatorial family—who visited the Holy Land at the end of the fourth or the beginning

of the fifth century and wrote the well-known *Peregrinatio ad loca* sancta, speaks of apples she was given and calls them *eulogiae*.⁷

Bread was also served at the agapae, as one reads in the so-called Egyptian Church Order of Hippolytus (probably a native of the Greek East, who became presbyter of Rome; d. 235), in the so-called Canones Hippolyti (ca. 500), in the Testamentum Domini (second half of the fifth century), and in other sources.8 The celebration of the agape, after its separation from the Eucharist, took place in the evening. The bishop received a lamp (which had a function and a particular significance),9 and blessed the people and the lamp; then all present uttered thanks for the light and the past day. The meal followed. When it was over, children and young virgins sang hymns by the light of the lamp. Then the cup of wine mixed with water was passed to those present by the bishop. At the conclusion of the hymn, the bishop chanted a thank-offering over the bread, parts of which he then distributed to the brothers. 10 This bread was also known as eulogia, or eulogion, because a blessing accompanied its use. 11 Although not consecrated, it presumably had some connection with the Eucharist, since it symbolized the bonds of love between the faithful, just as the Eucharist symbolized the bonds that linked the believers by their participation in the Body of Christ. It has been supposed that when the agape disappeared, the distribution of this bread took place at the end of the liturgy.

In addition, sources mention another kind of bread given to the catechumens, who were not allowed to receive Communion in the church or sit at an agape table with the baptized;¹² this bread is referred to as *bread of exorcism*. Obviously it too was a substitute for the Eucharist which the unbaptized could not receive, a sign of their attachment to the Church. Although it had its own name, one could assume that some gesture over it when it was distributed, like making the sign of the cross, or even having the cross upon it, would have made it a eulogia bread too. In other words, it carried a blessing and signified some sort of link with the body of the Church.¹³ The idea of exorcism alludes to yet another function of the bread: to cleanse the catechumens of evil spirits, to protect and restore to them their spiritual health. It seems then that, like the other substitutes, it carried some of the meaning of the Eucharist with it.

Clearly the name applied to these substitutes has derived from the act of blessing. It is not, therefore, surprising to find that in some Early Christian communities, particularly in Alexandria, the same term is used for the Eucharist itself and the Holy Bread. It should be noted, however, that often, but not always, when the term *eulogia* means the Eucharist in texts, a qualifying adjective has preceded it. For example, Saint Cyril of Alexandria speaks of the "mystic eulogia," as if to make a distinction between the eulogia as sacrament and the eulogia as a blessing in general. Is

The relationship in name and meaning raises the more specific problem of how the bread termed eulogia is really related to the Eucharist, as far as its forms and the signs pressed upon it are concerned. We can be sure that in the very early centuries there was no differentiation. For various reasons the bread must have been the same in every instance. There was no distinction of the eucharistic bread in the first years. Even later literary sources, like the Apostolic Constitutions, for example, dating from the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century, state that all oblations were brought by the worshipers. A prayer was said over all of them and those which were to be used for the Eucharist were set apart while the remaining loaves were given back to the faithful as eulogia. 16 This shows that there could not have been a differentiation of the forms of, or signs on, the various loaves, and that some of the early stamps discussed in preceding chapters must also have been pressed upon loaves of bread which were never consecrated.

A time came, however, when the substitutes were clearly distinguished from the real gift, and in some cases they were provided by the church and not by the faithful. Exactly when this occurred is not known, for the sources are unclear and conflicting. Certainly the gradual development of worship created a need for the distinction of this special kind of unconsecrated bread.

The Antidoron Bread in the Byzantine Rite

Literary Evidence

Although at the outset there was obviously more than one substitute for the Eucharist, it was the practice of distributing bread at the end of the liturgy that survived in subsequent centuries and, in the Byzantine rite, became the main substitute for the Eucharist. In the West, the distribution of blessed bread has remained an almost unchanged rite in the celebration of the solemn mass. In the East, distribution of eulogia bread takes place in all rites.¹⁷

In the twelfth century, however, and only in the Byzantine rite, as Raes has convincingly shown, ¹⁸ this eulogia bread became known as antidoron, meaning bread distributed to those who did not receive Communion, as a substitute for the real gift, the Eucharist. In thirteenth-century manuscripts of the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom, the antidoron is mentioned as being distributed after the prayer recited behind the ambo ($\mathring{o}m \mathring{o}d\mathring{a}p \mathring{b}\omega v \mathring{o}s \mathring{c}\mathring{v}\mathring{\chi}\mathring{\eta}$), but in fact it is distributed slightly later at the Dismissal. It is only in the Liturgy of the Presanctified that the antidoron is distributed after the recitation of the prayer behind the ambo. ¹⁹

Since the antidoron became the main substitute for the Eucharist and has survived to this day as the most important representative of the eulogia bread, it is proper to discuss its problems before proceeding to the other types of blessed bread. Such a discussion should throw some light on the role of this type of bread in the earlier centuries.

In present-day usage the antidoron is the remainder of the oblation from which the Lamb is extracted. Therefore, no special stamp exists for this kind of religious bread. It is cut into several particles and distributed at the end of the liturgy, at the Dismissal. The distribution follows the blessing by the priest: "May the blessing of the Lord and His mercy come upon you through His grace and love for man." This is repeated for each one of the recipients at the distribution.

According to Raes this usage occurs only in the Byzantine rite and it is difficult to prove its existence before the eleventh century. He is aware, however, that the silence of the texts is not sufficient evidence to establish a conclusive date for the appearance of this practice in the Byzantine rite.²⁰

What was the usage of the antidoron in earlier centuries? Was it part of the eucharistic loaf, or distinct from it? And if the latter, was this distinction made clear by the use of a different stamp? These are questions that deserve consideration. Some of the evidence of the Mid-

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dle Byzantine and later periods must be reviewed before we proceed to the investigation of the earlier period.

The responses of the patriarch Nicholas III Grammaticus, dating to the year 1105, and their interpretation by Theodore Balsamon (d. 1205) speak of consecrated bread which has become the body of Christ (άγία δωρεά, θεῖα άγιάσματα) and particles of "lifted-up bread," not consecrated (κλάσμα ὑψωμένου ἄρτου), which were given to the faithful, but they give no other specifications.²¹

Question 10: [What] if those who have been prevented from receiving the Host should eat lifted-up loaves of bread? Answer: We find those who are prevented from eating such loaves in the life of St. Theodore. Interpretation: . . . We do see indeed that those who have been prevented from receiving the Host are also prevented from receiving a particle of lifted-up bread. But I think that women, even if they are prevented from receiving the Host, are not prevented from receiving particles of lifted-up bread.²²

The term lifted-up bread derives from the ritual gesture of the priest who, holding the oblation with his two hands at the Prothesis, lifts it up before he pierces it with the lance and extracts the Lamb. He performs this with all other oblations from which particles are extracted, and therefore the term cannot be applied exclusively to noneucharistic loaves.23 It may well be that the particle of lifted-up bread is the remaining part of the eucharistic and of the other loaves as well. Yet in his canons Nicholas pays more attention to one particular loaf which clearly is the eucharistic.

Canon 13: No one who has eaten should touch the lifted-up oblation; but they who have fasted will consume it in fear and with much prayer; lest by carelessness or negligence a particle of it fall on the ground and they be condemned by the Lord. But neither should it go out of the holy church of God unless to a sick person.

Canon 14: And the bread that remains after the extraction of the particle for the honor of the Most Holy Mother of God and Ever-Virgin Mary will be consumed [and] not mixed with meat or milk, cheese or eggs. Also the remaining oblations which have been presented should not be given as food to an animal24

Canon 13 is of special importance because it implies that the portion of bread which remains from the eucharistic loaf after the extraction of the Lamb administers bodily health. Such an attribute relates this bread to the Eucharist itself on the one hand, and to the pagan hygieia bread on the other.25

The same Theodore Balsamon, Nicholas's interpreter, in his discussion of the canons of the synod of Antioch which took place under Constantius, son of Constantine the Great, distinguishes the antidoron from the Host and refers to its distribution at the end of the liturgy. He says that it was given as a substitute to those who could not receive the holy and life-giving mysteries, for sanctification, but he gives no other details.26 Nicholas Cabasilas, who wrote in the fourteenth century, is more specific: he says the antidoron distributed to the worshipers is the remaining part of the loaf from which the Lamb has been extracted.²⁷ In the following century, Symeon of Thessalonica confirms this piece of information and adds more details. He too states that although the antidoron is not the body of Christ (οὐ μὴν δὲ ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ), it comes from the same loaf of bread (προσφορά) from which the body of Christ has been extracted.²⁸

In this usage, reported by Middle Byzantine and later texts, there is no doubt that one sees the early Christian custom of which the Eighth Canon of Theophilus of Alexandria (385) and the Apostolic Constitutions (end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century) speak, that is, the distribution of the remaining "blessed" oblations to the clergy and the brothers.²⁹ The difference, however, between early and later practices is that in later times in Byzantium only particles, fragments of bread rather than complete loaves, were distributed; hence in liturgical manuscripts the antidoron is often called the κλαστόν or κατακλαστόν. The particles bring to mind the bread distributed in the agape; this bread must be an even earlier antecedent of the antidoron than the bread given at the end of the liturgy.

Between the complete eulogia loaf of the fifth century and the eleventh-century "fragment," there is a gap in our knowledge. The picture presented by the texts is not clear. The date suggested by Raes for the use of the antidoron could be moved to an earlier period on the basis of the texts, if their date were certain. In the Μυστική Θεωρία, attributed to the patriarch Germanus of Constantinople (d. 732), one sees knowledge of the usage of the antidoron (although the term is not used) as described in later Byzantine texts. The author clearly states that the remains of the prosphora from which the Lamb has

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been extracted are distributed as eulogia at the end of the liturgy.³⁰ However, Pseudo-Germanus's liturgical commentary has been interpolated later, and whether this piece of information was in the original form of the text is not known.³¹

In the early ninth century, however, Theodore Studites (759–826) wrote of eulogia given at the end of the liturgy on the Eve of Epiphany, which he distinguishes from the Eucharist without giving further details.³² Earlier sources are even less clear and less precise. The term *eulogia* refers to an oblation in general, including the eucharistic loaf.³³ Nevertheless the differentiation of oblations which carry one of the meanings of the eulogia bread is often possible.

For instance, Leontius of Cyprus (d. ca. 650) speaks of eulogia sent from one person to another as a sign of affection,³⁴ a use that recalls the ancient custom of sending blessed bread to others as a sign of communion. This meaning is found repeatedly in the seventh-century *Pratum spirituale* by John Moschus, where yet another use of the term occurs, of special importance because it concerns a particular meaning of eulogia bread. I cite here the complete, charming story in translation:

Chapter CXXV: Certain fathers of Mount Sinai told us about the Abbâ Sergius the Solitary, saying, "When he remained in Sinai he was put in charge of the mules. As he went out one day, lo, a lion was lying on the road. As soon as the mules and the men who took care of them saw the lion, they were seized by fear and stopped. Then the Abbâ Sergius, taking from his bag a loaf of eulogia bread, went near the lion and said to him: 'Take the eulogia of the Fathers and get off the road so that we can pass.' And, receiving the eulogia, the lion left.''35

Whatever the eulogia bread was, and the story does not tell us, it had a particular meaning in this case, in that it could be used effectively against evil. Later we shall see that this meaning of eulogia bread has persisted.

Obviously, the question of whether the antidoron eulogia bread can be traced as a distinct bread in the Early Byzantine Church remains unanswered by literary sources. One reads of the distribution of loaves that are not consecrated but carry a certain meaning that both relates them to and distinguishes them from the Eucharist. One suspects a differentiation of these loaves by means of signs pressed upon them. Nevertheless, a well-focused image cannot be developed. Ad-

ditional evidence is needed; and it is provided by the stamps that are discussed in the next section.

Evidence of the Stamps

Among the many unpublished stamps in the Benaki Museum in Athens there is one (no. 81) made of terra cotta with a monogram that can be read as EYAOFIA ΘΕΟΥ (Fig. 63). The stamp is in the form of a truncated cone, the upper part of which was probably used as a handle. The monogram recalls similar ones found on Byzantine lead seals and on glass weights which can be dated to the sixth or seventh century. 36 Both the inscription itself and its arrangement suggest more than one interpretation of its use. Here we may have a stamp intended for the actual eucharistic bread, for, in some literary texts referred to earlier, the term *eulogia* has been applied to the eucharistic bread as well.

The difficulty can be further illustrated, but not solved, by an example from an Alexandrian catacomb. In a fresco discovered there by Wescher and published by de Rossi, among other scenes there appears the Multiplication of the Loaves and the Fishes. The twelve baskets containing the bread bear the inscription: Τὰς εὐλογίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐσθιόντες. De Rossi and Wilpert correctly suggested a eucharistic interpretation for the scene based not on the word eulogia, which, after all, usually meant the Eucharist in the Alexandrian Church, but on the Gospel of Saint John, and on the evidence supplied by Origen and other parallel examples.³⁷ In our case such evidence is lacking. Furthermore we should remember that by the sixth century the word eulogia had been given to any object which had been blessed, especially if it was associated with tombs of martyrs. One recalls, for example, lamps or the ampullae of Monza, which do not have a eucharistic meaning but carry with them a "blessing." ³⁸

The lack of emphasis or greater distinction on the Benaki stamp would suggest that it was intended for a loaf which was to carry a blessing. The loaf may have been distributed at the end of the liturgy, or taken home, or sent from one person to another as a sign of affection. It may have been one of the loaves so often mentioned in seventh-century Byzantine texts, like the following: "As soon as [the monks] ate and had their fill, they gave their friend three warm loaves of eulogia, they too were blessed, and one of the monks said:



Fig. 63.—Terra cotta, diam. 8.5 cm., ca. 600, from Egypt. Photo by courtesy of the Benaki Museum, Athens.

'give them to the holy man and tell him that they come from me. For the sake of God, pray for your brother John.'''³⁹

The inscription of the stamp in Figure 63 appears, written out and in more complete form, on a large number of terra-cotta stamps found in various areas. The Benaki Museum possesses an excellent collection; fine examples are seen in the Byzantine Museum, Athens, and in some of the Greek provincial museums. European collections should also be mentioned, like the Louvre, though examples there are not numerous. And recent excavations have added more stamps of this type.

In most cases the pieces are unpublished. Whenever they are included in old or recent excavation reports, a date has seldom been proposed. Nor has the inscription been correctly read and an interpretation attempted. Only a few examples have been chosen here. In all of them there appears around the edge the Greek inscription (not always reversed) EYAOFIA KYP!OY ED HMAC AMHN ("The blessing of the Lord upon us, amen"). In some instances the last word is omitted. Usually a cross, whether Greek or Latin, is shown in the center of the face. Other symbols, crosslets, birds, or letters, are added to the central cross, and here the variations are considerable. The compositions and inscriptions may be either in intaglio or in relief.

The simplest type of composition shows the cross within a medallion surrounded by the inscription, and an example of this is now in the Louvre. It was found in Lavrion, Attica, and published several years ago, though no date was given to it.⁴⁰

In a stamp in the Byzantine Museum (no. 285) the cross with flaring arms has been given greater emphasis (Fig. 64). It is placed under an arch supported by two columns. The inscription (reversed) reads: ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΕΦ ΗΜΑC. The provenance of the stamp, which came to the museum as a gift, has not been recorded.

When the cross is not under an arch, it has been emphasized by being represented as jewel-studded, with precious stones hanging from the left and right arms, as a Benaki Museum stamp shows (no. 82; Fig. 65). The arms of the cross are slightly flaring and end in small



Fig. 64.—Terra cotta, diam. 6 cm., ca. 600. Photo by courtesy of the Byzantine Museum, Athens.



Fig. 65.—Terra cotta, diam. 7 cm., ca. 6th century, from Egypt. Photo by courtesy of the Benaki Museum, Athens.

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knobs. The handle of the stamp has not been preserved. The engraved inscription (reversed) reads: $EYA[O\Gamma IA]$ K[YPIO]Y $E\Phi$ HMAC.

A simple Greek cross is seen in a stamp excavated by the American School of Classical Studies at the Athenian Agora.⁴¹ Between the four arms of the cross, four small circles are engraved. The cross and circles are within a medallion formed by a zigzag ornament. The inscription is similar to those on the other stamps.

Other symbols can take the place of the four circles. On a Benaki Museum stamp (no. 83) with a well-preserved conical handle, the letters A and ω (?) are on either side of the Latin cross (Fig. 66). The same letters flank the lower part of a stamp in the Byzantine Museum, Athens (no. 290; Fig. 67), while on the upper part there are two other



Fig. 66.—Terra cotta, diam. 6.8 cm., ca. 500, from Egypt. Photo by courtesy of the Benaki Museum, Athens.



Fig. 67.—Terra cotta, diam. 12 cm., ca. 600. Photo by courtesy of the Byzantine Museum, Athens.

crosses. The inscription (not reversed) reads EYΛΟΓΙΑ K[YPIO]Y ΕΦ [HMAC]. The concluding lines are weathered. The word *Amen* may have originally been included. This word terminates the blessing on a stamp in the Benaki Museum (no. 87; Fig. 68). Within the usual medallion there is a cross raised on two steps and surrounded by a circle broken by other motifs: two birds (doves?) above and two crosslets below, seemingly hanging from two triangles attached at the ends of the right and left arms of the central cross. Segments of a circle are shown in the center, probably to suggest an aureola of light.

On another stamp, in the Byzantine Museum (no. 282), the iconography is identical except that the cross is not raised on steps and the flaring of the arms is more pronounced (Fig. 69). The inscription, not completely preserved, reads: E[ΥΛ]ΟΓΙ[A] [KYPIOY] ΕΦ HMAC AMHN. It should be noted that the lettering differs from that on Figure 68. A similar stamp with identical iconography, inscription, and lettering, was excavated in Palmyra in 1962.42 The similarities include even the size (diam. 6.2 cm.), for considering that both the Byzantine Museum and Palmyra stamps have been weathered, the difference of three millimeters is of no significance. The excavators have described the Palmyra stamp insufficiently and have read the inscription incorrectly as follows: + ΕΥΛΟΓΙ Ο ΚΥΕ ΘΗ [...] AMHN. Obviously it should be corrected to: + EYΛΟΓΙΑ Κ[YPIO]Y ΕΦ HM[AC] AMHN. The striking resemblances leave no doubt that these two stamps must have been produced by the same mould in an artisan's shop. This gives us an idea of the demand that must have existed for these objects-not surprising when we consider their use—and poses the problems of their obviously wide circulation and what all this meant in terms of ideas and liturgical practices in particular localities of eastern Christianity. To these problems we shall return later.

The excavators have not proposed a date for the Palmyra stamp. It was found west of the Great Gate of the Forum, south of the principal entrance. The Great Gate was probably constructed in the time of Diocletian, that is, in the middle of the third century.⁴³ This would mean that the stamp could not be dated before then.

The two identical stamps must be of the same date; together with the other stamps mentioned here and examples of the same type omitted, they have in common, apart from the inscription, certain



Fig. 68.—Terra cotta, diam. 6 cm., ca. 600, from Egypt. Photo by courtesy of the Benaki Museum, Athens.



Fig. 69.—Terra cotta, diam. 6.5 cm., ca. 600. Photo by courtesy of the Byzantine Museum, Athens.

characteristics of iconography and paleography which should serve as criteria for dating.

With the exception of the stamp in the Louvre, all stamps show a cross with flaring arms. In the stamp in Figure 64 this element is too pronounced, probably the result of copying a cross whose corners turned into circles. 44 In one instance (Fig. 67) it is a processional cross that is represented, as indicated by a tongue at the foot (which in actual crosses fits into a standard or a base). The concept of a processional cross set on a base is seen on the stamp in Figure 68.

Although the type of cross with flaring arms is known in monuments since the fourth century, the best parallels are found in sixthand seventh-century works. One thinks, to mention two parallels, of

the silver cross from Syria now in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection in Washington, D.C., dating from the late sixth or early seventh century, which is identical to the cross appearing on the stamp in Figure 67; or the silver dish from Constantinople, circa 610, with a cross whose flaring arms end in open circles and recall the cross on the stamp in Figure 64.⁴⁵

The jewel-studded cross in Figure 65 is also common in this period. It is held by the bishop Maximianus in the mosaics of San Vitale and adorns the apse of Sant' Apollinare-in-Classe, Ravenna. An actual example is provided by the golden votive cross commissioned by the emperor Justin II (565–578) and his wife, now in Saint Peter's Cathedral, Rome.⁴⁶

The motif of the cross under an arch which rests on two colonnettes finds its closest parallels in this period, and a well-known example is furnished by one of the ampullae of Monza dating to the sixth or early seventh century.⁴⁷

The apocalyptic letters A and ω accompanying the cross on the stamp in Figure 67, and possibly shown on the stamp in Figure 66, are common in monuments of the same period. In the earliest examples (fourth or fifth century), they flank the monogram of Christ, while in the two following centuries the letters accompany the cross.⁴⁸

The cross raised on steps, as shown on the stamp in Figure 68, appeared in the mosaic decoration of the apse of the chapel of Adam in the church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, dating from the beginning of the seventh century, 49 and on the apse of Hagia Eirene in Constantinople in the middle of the eighth century. 50 However, the birds seen on the upper part of three of the stamps go back to the fourth-century monuments. They often flank a vase or a cross. They are found especially in a composition known as "the trophy of the cross," pecking at the laurel wreath which crowns the cross with the monogram of Christ. 51

It may well be that the idea of a wreath that surrounds the cross has caused the representation of a second medallion in the stamps under discussion, while the nimbus, in the form of segments of a circle in the center of the cross, could reflect a halo found in monumental representations of the cross in the sixth century—the halo being an

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allusion to the legend of Saint Helena's discovery of the holy cross.⁵² The small crosses below the arms of the crosses in Figures 68 and 69 can be explained through earlier examples showing the apocalyptic letters A and ω which hang from little chains attached to the cross. On the Palmyra stamp and on the stamps in Figures 68 and 69, what may be described as rigid pendentives attached to the end of the right and left arms of the cross are in reality the remnants of these earlier chains.53

On the basis of the iconography, therefore, all these stamps must be dated sometime in the sixth and seventh centuries. This date is corroborated by the lettering. In all stamps the roundness of the letters is a peculiar characteristic, especially the O, the open C, and the short leg for Φ —all of which point to an early period. Within this period, the Benaki stamp in Figure 66 may be placed, possibly at the end of the fifth century (at the very earliest) or the beginning of the sixth, using regularity of lettering as a criterion. For the opposite terminus, circa 700, I propose the stamp found in the Athenian Agora on account of both the lettering and the increased stylization which marks the composition, the cross no longer being represented in relief. All other stamps must come between these two poles, with the Benaki stamp in Figure 68 placed after the two identical stamps in Athens and Palmyra because of the iconographic motif of the steps.

In their iconography these stamps declare the triumph of the cross, whether they show it under an arch or reproduce the famous staurotheke, the reliquary set with precious stones, which contained the relics of the true cross, in Jerusalem.54 They reflect a triumphal art which was created after the peace of the Church, and found its best magnificent expression in the art of the basilica and in the liturgy, as the hymns sung in both East and West during Holy Week still testify. It is in the early basilicas that one sees the former symbol of death and dishonor displayed in great splendor on the apses, which in turn reflect the triumph of the cross after its discovery by Saint Helena in Jerusalem. However, the parallels in motifs and ideas between the stamps and monumental art do not help us give a special interpretation concerning the nature of the bread for which these stamps were made. They could have been intended for any bread that was used in the Church.

For a more precise definition of the stamps' use, as far as this is possible, we must rely more on the inscriptions. These repeat in abbreviated form the blessing that the priest asks from God at the Dismissal of the Byzantine liturgy, just before the distribution of the antidoron, which he subsequently bestows upon each one of the worshipers at the distribution of the eulogia-antidoron. The complete form of this is "May the blessing of the Lord and His mercy come upon you through His divine Grace and love for man now and for evermore." The "Amen" is added by the choir. The choice of this prayer on the stamps is not accidental. It was chosen to associate the bread with this particular moment of the liturgy. In other words, we have here a group of stamps that were used on loaves that were to be blessed and distributed to the worshipers at the end of the liturgy as a eulogia.

There are two objections to the interpretation in the preceding paragraph, however. (1) The blessing, now said at the Dismissal, does not exist in the Codex Barberini gr. 336, the ninth-century manuscript of the Byzantine liturgy. It does occur in twelfth-century manuscripts.55 The lack of early manuscripts does not prove that this blessing was not said at the end of the liturgy in earlier centuries, however. We have seen that stamps occasionally antedate literary sources. Furthermore, it is well known that the oral word preceded the written one. This is particularly true with regard to the Christian liturgies, which provide several analogies, showing that practices followed by generations of Christians do not find their place in the manuscripts at once. (2) The other objection concerns the spelling of the word HMAC. In the manuscripts it is spelled with upsilon, not eta as in the stamps. The latter form, however, appears in some later manuscripts.56 The different spelling alters the interpretation: the pronoun is changed from the first person, "upon us," to the second person, "upon you." This difference can easily be explained. The eulogia bread was given to the faithful, or sent from one friend to another, as a sign of communion. This meaning could only be made clear if the blessing of God came upon both the recipient and the sender.

The expression, "May the blessing of the Lord be upon us," is more natural and more to the point for a community of people who called

each other brother and were conscious of being equal in the eyes of God. The idea of a reciprocal wish applying to everyone is found repeatedly in early liturgies, ⁵⁷ and it has survived in various forms to this day in eastern and western rites, as the following two examples show. At the Dismissal of the Roman liturgy, according to the first *Ordo Romanus*, the bishops said, "Jube domine benedicere," the Pope answered, "Benedicat *nos* Dominus," and the *ultima benedictio* followed, "Benedicat *vos* omnipotens Deus." ⁵⁸ In the Mozarabic liturgy related to the eastern rites, the priest says, "Dominus vobiscum," and the people answer, "et cum spiritu tuo." ⁵⁹ All this is included in the form, "May the blessing of the Lord be upon us."

It should be stressed that the use of the pronoun us is more correct than the pronoun you found in later codices. To prove this in the light of the examples quoted above, we must cite here the few relevant lines from the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom, taken from the Dismissal.⁶⁰

Deacon: Let us beseech the Lord.

Choir: Lord, have mercy.

Priest: May the blessing of the Lord ... come upon you [us].

The utterance of the people is not an answer to the deacon's exhortation. It only stresses the need for prayer. The real answer, that is, the actual prayer, is given by the priest who beseeches God to bestow upon *everyone* His blessings and His mercy. If the pronoun is changed to you, as it is in later codices, the meaning of the dialogue is distorted and disconnected. It is the correct meaning of this blessing that the stamps have preserved.

If the evidence and the argument are convincing, then it follows that the testimony of the Middle Byzantine texts, according to which the eulogia-antidoron bread was the remaining part of the oblation after the extraction of the Lamb, represents a later development. In the years before the eighth century, blessed cakes were distributed at the end of the liturgy in the Byzantine Church, as they were in the Latin Church and are in other eastern rites today.

The question that now arises is whether these stamps intended for the eulogia bread could not also have been used for eucharistic bread. That is to say, all oblations with the same impression upon them were put at the offertory table; some were consecrated, others were not; the unconsecrated ones were given at the end of the liturgy to the people. This idea, though logical, seems unlikely. In contemporary eastern rites other than the Byzantine which have preserved the old eulogia custom, cakes distributed at the end of the liturgy are different from the eucharistic bread and are provided by the church.

Even in the Russian Church, which belongs to the Byzantine rite and observes the practice of having the bread offered by the people, there was until recently the distinction between the two kinds of bread. A worshiper could present a loaf or cake for a living person to be blessed with the eucharistic loaves. This cake, however, did not have the normal eucharistic stamp, but the figure of a saint and an inscription naming the person for whom the offering was made. These unconsecrated loaves were distributed to the people at the end. Woolley, who provides this information, has published such a eulogia cake, on which the inscription reads, "Offered for the nun Nina." In the Armenian Church, to mention another example, the priest makes a special wafer for the antidoron to be distributed at the end of the liturgy. It is different in form from the one used for the Eucharist, being larger, softer, and thinner. 62

It is possible that the case was similar in the Early Church. The distinction of the loaves was made either by the people, who used a distinct stamp on the bread they presented in the church to be blessed. or it was made by the Church whenever it provided the bread. After all, these stamps, whether in the hands of the people or of the clergy, must have been controlled, at least with regard to their iconography, by the Church. This would explain their iconographic similarities, for certainly they were not produced at random. One could pursue this idea further and suggest that not only eulogia bread was distributed by the Church, but stamps also were supplied. They could be bought along with other holy objects and could be looked upon as such, in which case it did not much matter if the blessing on the eulogia loaf was not always legible (as might be the case when the lettering on the stamp was not reversed). This hypothesis would also explain the dissemination of these objects and the discovery of identical stamps in different parts of the Early Christian world.

Such Church control—a result of the various liturgical needs and the development of the worship—must have guaranteed the exclusive use of certain stamps for certain kinds of religious bread.

Another piece of evidence found in the stamps strengthens this interpretation. In a stamp, now in Thessalonica, to be discussed later in its proper section, the eulogia of the Lord in the inscription is directly related to the eulogia of the saints. If the word eulogia on all these stamps meant the Eucharist, it would have been unthinkable to have the name of Christ and that of Andrew and another saint-as they appear on the Thessalonica stamp-associated with this word. To this day, as we have seen, no particle of bread offered for the Mother of God or the saints is placed in the eucharistic chalice before the Communion takes place. It would have been a sacrilege, then, if someone had impressed upon his oblation a sentence meaning "Let us receive the Body of Christ and of the Saints." There is no room for any other interpretation except to admit that the sentence, "May the Blessing of the Lord come upon us," was a general one and was pressed upon loaves that were not eucharistic. They were only to be blessed and given at the Dismissal, to which the inscription made a direct reference.

The different practice of extracting the antidoron from the eucharistic loaf, developed in the Byzantine rite sometime after the eighth century, was the natural result of a steady symbolic development of the liturgical acts, to which we shall return at the end of this study.

Eulogia Bread for Other Special Purposes

The Problem of the Hygieia Bread

The antidoron was a bread of special purpose. The faithful might also offer or receive other loaves on special occasions and for specific purposes. One of the earliest testimonies about the use of such bread is found in the *Sacramentary of Serapion*, which contains a prayer to be read "over bread for the sick." In Chapter 3, I discussed the relation of this bread to the Eucharist and pointed out the difficulties that exist in distinguishing, among extant stamps bearing the word YFI[EI]A, those intended for the proper hygicia bread from those which

were to stamp the eucharistic bread. The pagan custom of receiving bread that apparently was believed to restore bodily health, marked YFI[El]A, the medicinal qualities of the Eucharist, and the healing powers attributed to the antidoron bread all make a distinction of the appropriate stamps extremely difficult. However, if a particular stamp specifically invokes the granting of health and joy—and this is the content of the relevant prayer in the *Sacramentary of Serapion*—to a certain individual, then the stamp was possibly intended for the true hygieia bread.

Such stamps have been found. One bronze rectangular example from Constantinople is now in the collection of Mr. and Mrs. John de Menil, Houston, Texas. It dates from the fifth or perhaps the sixth century and bears the inscription: ZωH KAI XAPA ΠΑΛΛΑΔΙω ("Life and joy to Palladios"). Yet there is no support for the suggestion that this or other stamps of the same type were used for bread, certainly not that they were intended for the special-purpose hygieia bread. On the one hand, producing a stamp in bronze to be used only in time of sickness must have been an expensive enterprise, within the financial scope of few people. Of course we do not know how often these ceremonies invoking health took place. They may have been a regular part of Christian life, as is, for example, today the ceremony for the sanctification of a house, which is performed regularly—at least once a month. On the other hand, a wish for good health could appear on a loaf of ordinary bread or on a eucharistic loaf, at least in early times. And since there are no hygieia stamps known that are dated after the sixth century, this special bread cannot be followed up. The lack of stamps leads to another deduction. This special hygieia bread, if it existed, was discontinued after the sixth century for various reasons: visibly it was a "pagan bread"; it had the same impression that pagan loaves of the hygieia bread had; its meaning was found in the Eucharist and passed on to the antidoron bread, which became the main substitute for the Eucharist.

Literary Evidence

Apart from the Christian's earnest wish for good health, there were further reasons for the faithful to invoke their Lord by presenting bread, which became an expression and symbol of other aspects of

Christian life. Literary sources provide the barest introduction. In the Early Church they are almost silent; in the Byzantine period they are restrained; the facts were known to all, and, for that matter, it never occurred to the various authors to give us complete information about the eulogiae, the different loaves of bread used for various purposes. There are texts that give us some scanty, though basic, information about the existence of the bread of special purpose and describe ceremonies performed with bread other than the eucharistic.

Symeon of Thessalonica in his treatise *On Prayer* devotes parts of three chapters to special bread called "All-Holy Bread":

Chapter ccclvii: The Lifted Up Sacred Bread of the All-Holy

Since we have reached this point we shall mention briefly the lifted up bread of the All-Holy. . . . It is ordained that the bread which is lifted up with the invocation of my All-Holy Virgin should be lifted up at the end of the meal of the brethren for their sanctification and as a seal of the food they received; but above all, this should be done for the glory of the Mother of God who gave birth to the Heavenly Bread, the Living and Lasting Bread, for our sake, the Bread that feeds our own souls. This All-Holy bread is lifted up also on many other occasions (when one is in need) for our help. It is often done during the Divine Liturgy if some people demand this, although it is performed customarily by most celebrants who wish to invoke and glorify the Virgin for whom hymns and praises are sung always; it is rather performed (in the liturgy) when the mystic sacrifice of her Son and our God takes place, so that we may obtain from her [the Mother of God] the greatest help. This bread is lifted up in the Divine Liturgy when customarily her name is mentioned, that is when we say: "Above all [for the memory] of the Most Holy [pure, blessed and glorified Lady Mother of God and Ever-Virgin Mary]." It is also lifted up whenever we are in whatever need, whenever we invoke her who is our adjutor and most secure guardian. As we know from our own experiences and from those of trustworthy persons, we obtain a great deal of help by lifting this bread. What is said during the lifting up of this bread is not simple. The one and only Trinitarian God is being invoked and called upon, and the Mother of God, the All-Holy, is truly being invoked and her succor asked. The mystery of our faith, our confessions, and expectations of our salvation lie in all these things.

At the table of the brethren...first thanks are given and the prayer "Our Father who art in heaven," is said for our daily bread. When this is said a piece of bread which is tripartite in every way is being extracted from a loaf that lies there. This piece symbolizes the Trinity and Its unity from every part. The Trinity is typified by both the three corners and the

three parts of the bread, while Its unity is typified in the unique center of this piece, which is high. Therefore, however you may turn this piece it has three corners and its center ends in one point. Observance of this rite has been passed on to us by the Fathers who followed an unwritten apostolic tradition according to which it was performed daily. The bread is presented to the One Trinitarian God in the name of the Mother of God, because through her Divine issue we have known the Trinity, and through the One Person of the Trinity Whom she bore in flesh she is truly glorified as Mother of God. She is the supplier of the Living Manna and mother of the Divine Drink.

Chapter ccclviii: Discipline and Prayers during the Meal of the Brethren

When this bread has been placed in a sacred vessel destined for this purpose and has been blessed by the priest, a candle is lit in the vessel. The priest blesses the food, invoking our God Jesus Christ for the blessing. When the meal is over, divine words are read so that, as we are taught, we may do everything for the glory of God....

Chapter ccclix: The Rite of the Lifting Up of the Bread of the All-Holy [Mother of God]

When these have been accomplished...the lector who had served the spiritual food to the brethren comes to minister to them with this spiritual work. Having asked for forgiveness and having received it—the pure must be ministered to by the pure, and forgiveness cleanses—while all others are silent, he lifts up the bread exclaiming: "Great is the name." All present cry aloud: "Of the Holy Trinity" which is the awesome name of the only God of all Who is Trinitarian. And making the sign of the cross the lector adds: "All-Holy Mother of God succor us," and they all say in unison, "Through her intercession, O God, pity and save us."... The words "All-Holy Mother of God, succor us," declare the Incarnation of the Word.... We invoke her and we believe her to be present and ready to help us. And the bread is brought as a gift to her; or rather through her to her Son. ... 64

Certainly the qualities of this bread relate it to the eucharistic and the antidoron bread, since it is a source of help when one is in any kind of need. The *Euchologion* of the Eastern Church, however, prescribes the performance of this rite only when one is about to undertake a journey. But neither Symeon nor the *Euchologion* gives any indications about the stamp for this bread.

Other important sources for the existence of bread of special purpose are the typica of the monasteries; that is, individual monastic regulations. In, for example, the typicon of the empress Eirene Doukaina

(twelfth century) for the monastery which she had founded, various kinds of bread are mentioned. The rules concerning the celebration of the Divine Liturgy specify that seven loaves of bread should be presented every day. One is offered to Christ, one to the Virgin, a third one to the saint whose memory is celebrated on that particular day, another one for the remission of the sins of the emperor and the empress, and the remaining three for the nuns who have departed this life, for all deceased parents, and relatives of nuns, and for living relatives, children, in-laws, and others.⁶⁵

References cited earlier in our discussion of the eucharistic bread make it clear that the loaves mentioned are those from which particles were extracted at the Prothesis, and placed in the eucharistic paten.

The same typicon, however, obliges the distribution of special loaves of bread to "our poor brethren" at the gate of the monastery, on the occasion of great festival days such as the Dormition, Christmas, the Transfiguration, the Saturday of the *Apocreo*, and the Saturday of Pentecost, 66 a practice which echoes the presentation of cakes on gods' festivals in Greek antiquity. In the same spirit the twelfth-century typicon of the Monastery of the Virgin of Elegmon ('Elegmon') speaks of eulogia bread to be distributed on the Feast of the Dormition of the Virgin for the glory and honor of the Mother of God. 67

On such occasions, during the vespers of the eve of a festival, the ceremony of the artoclasia is celebrated. It is another remnant of the agape of the Early Church, and is found in the Orthodox Church after the seventh century.68 The ceremony described in the euchologia consists of the presentation of five loaves of bread, a small jar of wine, and some oil. The priest blesses the offerings, recites prayers over them, then breaks the bread and distributes it to those present. 69 In some twelfth- and thirteenth-century manuscripts describing the celebration of the artoclasia in monastic communities, there is a special prayer recited over the dough during the preparation of the loaves, in which specific reference is made to the blessing of the five loaves of bread by Christ.70 It should be noted that this bread carries some of the qualities attributed to the eucharistic bread and to its main substitute, the antidoron. In a typicon of the year 1851, collated from old practices followed in Jerusalem, in the monastery of Studiou in Constantinople, and in the monastic communities of Mount Athos, one

reads the following with regard to the bread used in the artoclasia: "This blessed bread has many gifts: taken with water [it] eliminates fevers, and fears, and cures every illness. In addition it is effective against pests in the wheat fields." ⁷¹

Other special occasions for distribution of the bread are mentioned. In a sixteenth-century typicon, it is ordained that on the day of the founder's birthday wheat must be boiled and that the monks must distribute eulogia bread. Also in the same typicon, one reads that bread and wine must be distributed to the poor on the day of the anniversary of the founder's death. Other, more obscure, instances occur. For example, the typicon of the monastery of Grottaferrata, dating from the fourteenth century, speaks of special "blessed" bread distributed to the monks after the end of the liturgy of Good Friday.⁷²

The service of betrothal found in the various euchologia is also of interest. In a fifteenth-century euchologion in the monastery of Pantocrator, Mount Athos, one reads: "... and the engagement rings are exchanged between the couple three times, likewise the loaves of bread." Later, in a sixteenth-century euchologion the information occurs once more, but phrased slightly differently: "... the priest gives the man the gold ring, and to the woman the silver ring. He also gives them two loaves of bread." Although the number of loaves distributed, and even their weight, are often mentioned in these texts, their symbols escape us again.

Present-day Usages

Nevertheless, the information derived from the texts is sufficient to prove the existence of other kinds of bread of special purpose and to suggest that certain contemporary uses of blessed bread in eastern Churches have behind them a long tradition. In the Greek Orthodox Church, for example, special loaves of bread are distributed to the congregation on certain festival days, such as the festival day of the saint to whom a particular church is dedicated, or during the vespers on the eve of the saint's day at the celebration of the *artoclasia*. In present-day usage, the loaves normally bear an impression which makes some allusion to the commemorated saint. For instance, in the monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai, a wooden stamp with the image of Saint Catherine is used for the bread of the *artoclasia* during

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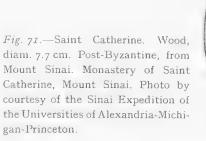
the vespers service on the eve of her festival (Figs. 70, 71.) On the actual festival day of the saint, antidoron bread is distributed to the congregation. This bread has been stamped with the same wooden stamp bearing the image of the saint. So also are other loaves of bread, called eulogiae, that are distributed to pilgrims and monks. 75

These stamps represent Saint Catherine of Alexandria, identified by inscription (not reversed), wearing princely robes and a crown, for according to her legend she came from a noble family. In one stamp (Fig. 70) she holds a cross and a palm branch—symbols of martyrs. The other stamp (Fig. 71) contains more symbols and is richer in meaning: Saint Catherine carries a torch, symbol of her light of wisdom with which she dispelled the knowledge of the pagan philosophers who confronted her at her trial. The two open books and the astronomical globe allude to her learning, while the spiked wheel on the lower right part is her normal attribute. (According to legend, the wheel broke into pieces, leaving the saint unhurt, and finally she was beheaded.) The unknown craftsman of the stamp depicted the palm of victory on her robes. In this particular stamp, on the left side, one sees a domical church and a bell tower represented within an enclosure. This architectural complex must be a schematic representation of the monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai where the shrine containing her relics is. Her body was carried by angels to Sinai, to a mountain peak named after her, the Mount of Saint Catherine. Eventually her body found a place in the basilica built by the emperor Justinian in the monastery on Mount Sinai. Clearly loaves of bread stamped with this particular stamp and distributed to pilgrims on November 25, Saint Catherine's day, commemorated the festival and reminded the pilgrim of the site connected with her cult.

Special loaves of bread are distributed, too, on great festivals, regardless of the name of the church or monastery. These loaves also are called eulogiae and usually have a representation of the relevant festival or another related scene. 76 Again the example comes from the monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai. During the festivals dedicated to the Mother of God, especially on the Festival of the Annunciation, the loaves of bread given to the congregation have a representation of the Virgin known as the Holy Bush, that is, the Burning Bush in which God appeared to Moses (Exod. 3:2-4) that was

Fig. 70.—Saint Catherine. Wood, diam. 7.7 cm. Post-Byzantine, from Mount Sinai. Monastery of Saint Catherine, Mount Sinai. Photo by courtesy of the Sinai Expedition of the Universities of Alexandria-Michigan-Princeton.







interpreted by the Fathers as a symbol of the Virgin Mother. In one wooden stamp of recent date a bust of the Virgin springs out of the burning bush (Fig. 72). The stamp and therefore the bread loaf that bore its design make a direct reference to the Festival of the Annunciation whose hymnology constantly refers to the Virgin as the Burning Bush.

The other stamp, also of wood, contains more elements (Fig. 73). A bust of the Mother of God with a half-figure of Christ on her breast (an iconographic type itself known as the Virgin Blachernitissa) is shown in the midst of the flames of the burning bush. On her left stands Moses holding the tablets of the covenant; the letter Midentifies him. On the opposite side is Saint Catherine carrying a torch and





Fig. 72.—The Virgin Mary as the Burning Bush. Wood, diam. 7.5 cm. Post-Byzantine, from Mount Sinai. Monastery of Saint Catherine, Mount Sinai. Photo by courtesy of the Sinai Expedition of the Universities of Alexandria-Michigan-Princeton.



Fig. 73.—The Virgin Mary as the Burning Bush, Moses, and Saint Catherine of Alexandria. Wood, diam. 7.5 cm. Post-Byzantine, from Mount Sinai. Monastery of Saint Catherine, Mount Sinai. Photo by courtesy of the Sinai Expedition of the Universities of Alexandria-Michigan-Princeton.

identified by the initial K which is engraved in reverse. Not only does this stamp give a direct reference to the symbolism of the Burning Bush and the Incarnation, the main theme of the festival of the Annunciation, but also it refers to the site, Mount Sinai, where Moses saw the vision of the burning bush and where he received the tablets of the Law (Exod. 34). The schematic representation of the mountain below has three peaks often appearing in engravings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. One is the Mount of Moses, the other the site of the burning bush, now included within the monastery, and the third the Mount of Saint Catherine where her body was deposited by angels. Once more in this case the stamp makes reference to the festival and to the holy sites as well. The pilgrim who received a cake stamped

with this stamp carried with him a souvenir of the festival and of the holy sites of Mount Sinai.

The examples which illustrate modern usage can be multiplied; we include three more. A stamp owned by Mr. Karl Müller and on loan to the Ikonen-Museum, Recklinghausen, depicts the Dormition of the Virgin (Fig. 74). Another, coming from Mount Athos, and now in Würzburg, bears the image of Saint Nicholas (Fig. 75). Both are used for eulogia bread distributed on the Feasts of the Dormition and of Saint Nicholas celebrated on August 15 and December 6, respectively. It is not known whether the distribution took place in churches named after the Festival of the Dormition and Saint Nicholas, although the stamp of Saint Nicholas may be associated with one of the two monasteries in Mount Athos, that of Gregorius (fourteenth century) and that of Stavroniketa (sixteenth century), both of which are dedicated to Saint Nicholas. Also, the modern wooden stamp (Fig. 76) in the Deutsches Brotmuseum at Ulm was for eulogia bread offered on Saint Basil's day, January 1, as the Greek inscription makes clear.

In the Russian Church loaves with the images of saints are offered on special festival days. In the Coptic Church a special eulogia bread in the form of a cross is distributed to worshipers on Maundy Thursday. In this case it is the form of the bread that reminds the pilgrim of the event the Church commemorates on the day. Special blessed bread is also distributed in Lenten fasts and vigils in the Syrian Church; it, too, is called "blessing" (burk'tho). Bread is also blessed and distributed in the Maronite liturgy. 18

Apart from these uses of blessed bread, directly connected with worship, bread plays a part in other religious ceremonies such as engagements and weddings. This bread, however, is outside the scope of this study because its designs and forms are not made by a stamp or mould. The dough, shaped by hand, is treated as material for sculpture, and in Greek villages where the custom is practiced—the ancient village of Megara, for example, near Athens, is noted for producing most elaborate wedding loaves—the result is looked upon as a work of art.

Eulogia Bread for Great Festivals

If the cited texts are considered in the light of contemporary usage, it can reasonably be assumed that the special loaves mentioned in



Fig. 74.—The Dormition of the Virgin. Terra cotta, diam. 15 cm., modern. Collection of Consul K. Müller, Izmir. Photo by courtesy of the Ikonen-Museum, Recklinghausen.



Fig. 75.—Saint Nicholas. Wood, diam. 9 cm., modern, from Caryai, Mount Athos. Photo by courtesy of the Ostkirchliches Institut, Würzburg.

the typica bore representations related to the festivals on which the distribution took place and that the distribution of such special loaves did not pertain to the great festivals only, but to saints' festivals as well.

Unfortunately, as far as the great festivals are concerned, it is difficult to prove this assumption on the basis of extant stamps. The task of dating the examples, scattered in various collections today and with unrecorded provenance as they are, is formidable and unrewarding if one cannot show that they were used by a Byzantine. Several fine stamps in the Byzantine Museum, Athens, easily attract the eye of the student who is fascinated by the love with which the unknown artisan has formed the mould or carved the wood. Among



Fig. 76.—Saint Basil. Wood, diam. 15.5 cm., modern. Photo by courtesy of the Deutsches Brotmuseum, Ulm, Germany.

them, one made of clay (no. 5595) shows a representation of the Ascension, an old subject in Christian art. Yet it is not possible to venture a date for it; it may well be of post-Byzantine times. The same difficulties apply to a number of wooden bread stamps of fine workmanship with representations of festivals, like the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, and the Dormition of the Virgin, which are in the rich collection of the Benaki Museum, Athens (case 197, nos. 25, 7).

The lack of authenticated early stamps cannot, however, be used as an argument against the existence of special eulogia bread distributed on the great festivals in Byzantine times. Although such stamps may have existed, they have not come down to us. Nonetheless, this gap can be interpreted in a different way. It may indicate that the custom of distributing bread of special purpose on the occasion of one of the twelve great festivals was developed later, after those festivals were fully formed and had found a place in both the liturgical year and the actual decoration of the Church. In other words, such stamps may have not been used at all in the Early Christian and Early Byzantine periods, and this may explain why excavations of Early Christian and Early Byzantine sites have not unearthed such examples.

Eulogia Bread for Saints' Days

The deduction that the distribution of bread on the twelve great festivals is possibly a later development may be further supported by another group of bread stamps which depict, not festivals, but images

of saints. The long history of these stamps can be carefully traced back from the Late Byzantine to the Early Christian period. This reverse chronological order of presentation has been adopted only for methodological reasons.

In 1917, J. Ebersolt published a stone stamp belonging to the collection of the Archaeological Museum at Istanbul.79 The stamp depicted the Ascension of the Prophet Elijah, accompanied by the following inscription: Η ΠΥΡΦΟΡΟC ANABACIC (ΤΟΥ) ΠΡΟΦΗΤΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΥ. Ebersolt correctly dated it to the fourteenth century, but interpreted it as a stamp intended for eucharistic bread without advancing convincing reasons for such an interpretation. The Ascension of Elijah (II Kings 2: 1-11), Ebersolt said, prefigured the Anastasis, and it was used on sarcophagi as a symbol of the immortality of the soul. By this he implied, without clearly stating it, the justification of the scene on a eucharistic bread loaf. At the same time he pointed to the many churches dedicated to the Prophet Elijah which existed in Constantinople and to the popularity that he enjoyed in the capital of the Byzantine Empire. Perhaps Ebersolt intended to point out a relationship of the stamp with a church dedicated to Elijah, but this is as far as he went.

Neither the symbolic interpretation of the scene nor the popularity of the saint suggests a eucharistic meaning for the stamp. The very date of the stamp argues against it. For in the fourteenth century—and long before that, as we have seen—the eucharistic bread had acquired a definite form, the form which is still in use today. The sources cited earlier are quite definite on this point. The eucharistic bread was stamped with the letters IC XC NI KA. Since there is no reason to interpret the stamp as eucharistic, it is possible to relate it only to the special eulogia bread distributed on the Prophet Elijah's festival day, which is July 20, celebrated in one of the churches dedicated to him in Constantinople. The celebration of the Prophet's festival day would have meant also the commemoration of the encaenia of that particular church.

Other stamps further strengthen this interpretation, for in those stamps there has been preserved the eulogia associated, not with Christ, but with a particular saint depicted on the stamp.

In the excavations at the basilica of Saint Demetrius in Thessalonica, carried out by Dr. S. Pelekanides in 1959, a stone stamp

(Fig. 77) was found which showed, in the upper part, Christ within a medallion holding with His left hand a Gospel book. Below Him there is a so-called Latin cross with two standing saints on either side. One of them holds the staff of a cross and can be identified as Andrew. This identification is confirmed by the inscription around the edge of the stamp, reading [EYA]OFIA K[YPIO]Y ED HMAC KAI [TWN] [A]-FIWN ANDREOY ... ("The blessing of the Lord and of the Saints Andrew ... be on us"). The upper right part of the stamp is missing and the inscription remains incomplete. The name of the other saint must have been included in the missing part. Nevertheless, a name can be suggested on the basis of the represented type of the saint. The special feature of the unknown saint, who holds the Gospel with his left hand, is his hair, which distinctly ends in a series of beadlike curls on the forehead. He is Peter, always represented with this kind of hair. 81

The excavators have not assigned a date to this stamp. Since the crudity of the object would render the results of a stylistic analysis uncertain, other elements must be considered in order to suggest a possible date. The composition of two apostles standing on either side of a Latin cross is encountered in early monuments such as, for example, the Sarigüzel sarcophagus in Istanbul dated in the second half of the fourth century. So On the other hand the placement of the bust of Christ on top of the cross points to a later date, probably the sixth or seventh century. In fact, the naked cross surmounted by a bust of Christ recalls the symbolic representations of the Crucifixion found in some of the ampullae of Monza (although in these Christ does not hold a Gospel) and for which the year 614 has been suggested as terminus ad quem. The lettering of the inscription points more particularly to the sixth century, and finds its parallels in dated sixth-century silver such as the Riha and Stuma patens.

If this early date is correct, the importance of the stamp is obvious. It furnishes us with another early example on which the prayer mentioned at the Dismissal of the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom occurs. The phrase Εὐλογία Κυρίου ἐφ'ἡμᾶς means that the bread stamped with this stamp was distributed at the end of the liturgy as a eulogia. The relation, however, of the blessing with the names of the apostles Andrew and undoubtedly Peter, whose images appear on the stamp, indicates that this bread must have had some special connection





Fig. 77.—Saints Andrew and Peter. Stone, diam. 9 cm., ca. 6th century, from Thessalonica. Stamp and impression. Photos by courtesy of Professor S. Pelekanides, Thessalonica.

with the two apostles. It must have been distributed on a festival day commemorating them and possibly in a church dedicated to them. There is no single feast dedicated to the two apostles. Their memory is celebrated separately in the Byzantine Church. There was, however, a famous sanctuary dedicated to both apostles in Asia Minor. It may well be that this stamp, unearthed during the excavations in Thessalonica, was an import from the famous shrine of the two apostles, or that it was intended for a kind of bread which had some association with the shrine.

But, if the stamp is not an import, more emphasis should be given Andrew, whose name is mentioned first in the inscription. Andrew's feast was celebrated in Byzantium on November 30, and in the entry of the day in the *Typicon of Constantinople* used in Hagia Sophia during the ninth century, Andrew is specified as the brother of Peter,

the head of the apostles, in accordance with Matthew 4:18.86 The mention of Peter in the typicon may have been the reason for his being represented next to Andrew, although this may not necessarily be so, since the two apostles appear together in other monuments for which no such connection can be suggested, as, for example, in an ivory in Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum, no.8136) dating from the tenth century (ca. 959).87

Furthermore, in view of the fact that Thessalonica, where the stamp was found, occupies a place in the legend of Andrew, it is possible that the representation of Peter is due not solely to the fact that he was Andrew's brother, but that it reflects a phase of the problem concerning the apostolicity of Andrew in Byzantium. This is, however, outside the scope of this study.⁸⁸

The suggested relationship of the stamp to a church should be investigated. Only since the tenth century have there occurred references to a monastery and a church dedicated to Andrew in Thessalonica. But the silence of the texts does not necessarily imply that there was no place of worship dedicated to Andrew at an earlier date. Whatever the case may be—that is, whether the stamp was distributed on the festival day of Andrew in any church, or in a particular church dedicated to him in Thessalonica or in Asia Minor—the fact remains that the stamp under discussion was intended for a special bread related to Andrew and to Peter.

A stamp recently found near Nicosia in Cyprus (in the area of Saint Eirene) was intended for bread of a similar purpose (Fig. 78). It is made of stone and depicts an archangel standing frontally with open wings. He holds in his right hand (in the positive impression of the stamp it would be the left) a medallion, or more probably a wreath, enclosing a cross; with his other hand he holds a staff topped by what is possibly a Christogram, \star . His costume seems to be a dalmatic. On the extreme left of the stamp a schematic tree is represented, possibly as a space filler. The following inscription runs along the edge of the stamp: EYAOFIA [TO]Y APXICTPATI[sic]FOY ("Blessing of the Chief-Captain [of the Host]").

A distinct feature of the inscription is the rendering of the letter A, which ceases to appear in this fashion after the seventh century. There



Fig. 78.—Saint Michael. Stone, diam. 10 cm., ca. 600, from Cyprus. Photo by courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.

are several paleographic parallels, but the best one is found in the Riha paten. So Another feature of the inscription is the letter P, with its particularly small loop, which appears in works of the sixth and seventh centuries. On the basis of the inscription, therefore, the stamp can be dated in the sixth or seventh century. This date is also supported by certain iconographic elements, such as the wreath (if we are right in seeing a wreath in the hand of the archangel), the *on the top of the staff, and possibly the tree, which also appears as an ornamental motif on sixth-century lead seals and other terra-cotta bread stamps of similar date which are discussed later.

Apart from the word eulogia, the word APXICTPATI[sic] FOY is of special interest. In the Old Testament, it is used to describe the captain of the Hosts of the Lord, who revealed himself to Joshua (Joshua 5:13–15). Thus the word refers to an archangel. The illustration of this passage in the Vatican's tenth-century Joshua Roll and the accompanying inscription reveal that the Captain of the Hosts is the archangel Michael. But in a number of pre-Constantinian authors, in Eusebius and others, the word APXICTPATHFOC is used as a Christological title referring to the preëxisting Christ. It is not, however, necessary to give this interpretation to the stamp, for there are no iconographic indications to support it. One must see here the representation of an archangel, namely Michael, with whom the bread stamped with this stamp is evidently associated.

Undoubtedly the small round loaf of bread was offered to pilgrims as eulogia bread during the festival day of the archangel, which is celebrated by the Church on November 8, together with the feast of the Incorporeal Powers. Saint Michael was already honored in the time of Constantine the Great, who had ordered the construction of a church to him at the place of the Three Angels' Appearance to Abraham, ⁹³ but there is no evidence for the celebration of a festival at such an early time. A festival dedicated to Michael is encountered in the fifth century, as has been shown by Stephanides. ⁹⁴

The celebration of the festival and the distribution of the eulogia bread may have taken place in a church dedicated to Michael. In Byzantium his popularity reached a high point in the period of the emperor Justinian when, according to Procopius, churches dedicated to Michael were built in Constantinople and Antioch. It so happens that the suggested date for the stamp coincides with or immediately follows this period. Procopius does not mention churches in Cyprus, but there is no reason to assume that Cyprus provided an exception to the popularity of Michael. In fact, there is mention of a chapel of Saint Michael in Chionistra (the highest point of Mount Troodos, on Cyprus) during the Middle Ages, and also of a church dedicated to him in Leukosia of Triptiotou. In the chapel of Triptiotou.

In the same class of stamps for eulogia bread we should include a terra-cotta circular stamp (Fig. 79) which has preserved its handle as well, found in Asia Minor and now in Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Room XVII, no. 68), and a number of terra-cotta disks found in Tauric Chersonese in 1896 and 1898. The stamp and the disks have many iconographic elements in common and date possibly from the fifth or sixth century.

The Vienna stamp bears the following representation in relief: two standing saints on either side of a Latin cross which is erected on a mount; on each side of the cross and between the saints is a cypress tree. The composition of the representation on one of the Chersonese disks (diam. 9.0 cm.) is similar but with some variations. In this case the saints are not simply standing on either side of the cross. Instead, one of them is in the attitude of prayer; the other carries a scepter. The two cypresses are not between the saints but frame the composition; the cross itself is accompanied by the letters A and ω . The inscriptions on the Vienna stamp and on the disk from Chersonese are different. On the disk the inscription in capital letters runs along the edge and is incomplete, since a large part of the disk, originally





Fig. 79.—Saints Peter and Paul. Terra cotta, diam. 9 cm., ca. 500, from Asia Minor. Photos by courtesy of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

containing the name of one or perhaps two saints, is missing. The following reconstruction has been suggested by Latisheff, who first published the disk: [EYAOFI]A TOY A(F)IOY KAI ENA(O) Ξ [OYM]E-FAA[YMAPT]Y(P)OC [FEWPFIOY] ("Blessing of the saint and glorious great martyr George [?]").97 The identification, therefore, of these two saints remains uncertain. It is the word eulogia that is important here and that certainly occurs in the complete inscription on the other disk from Chersonese (diam. 10 cm.). In it the Greek inscription surrounds the figure of a saint standing in a boat and reads: EY(Λ O)FIA TOY AFIOY Φ WKA TOY ITTWX(E)IOY XEPC(Ψ O)NOC ("Blessing of Saint Phocas of the Poorhouse of Cherson"). Clearly it identifies the figure of the represented saint and associates the word *eulogia* and the object that bears it, that is, the disk itself, with the shrine of Saint Phocas at Cherson, well known and held in great respect, especially among sailors.98

The inscription of the Vienna stamp also contains the word eulogia, but it does not associate it with a particular shrine. It reads: ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΕΦ ΗΜΑΟ ΑΡΧΗ ΖωΗΟ CTAYPOO ("The blessing of the Lord on us. The cross is the beginning of life"). On the outer, upper, left part of the stamp is another inscription badly preserved, and there is a third one in smaller letters on either side of the cross and between the saints, also weathered. Professor R. Noll deciphered both inscriptions, which repeat one another and read: "Ο "Αγιος Πέτρος—"Ο "Αγιος Παῦλος ("Saint Peter—Saint Paul").99 In other words, the inscriptions identify the represented saints.

The first part of the main inscription contains the blessing asked for at the Dismissal of the liturgy found in other stamps discussed earlier, and leaves no doubt about the use of the stamp. The second part of the inscription is particularly noteworthy. It recalls Early Christian inscriptions which made their appearance primarily after the finding of the true cross by Saint Helena, such as CTAYPOC OANATOY KAI ANACTACEωC; or the Latin inscription on the pectoral cross from the basilica of San Lorenzo Fuori-le-mura now in the Vatican. CRUX EST VITA MIHI; or the SALUS MUNDI which appears below the jewelled cross in the church of Sant' Apollinare-in-Classe at Ravenna.100 These parallels suggest a fifth- or sixth-century date for the stamp, a date that corresponds to the paleography of the letters as well. Characteristic is the rendering of the ω , with all three bars of equal height and with curves which find their best parallels in sixth-century silver (for example, the Cup of Symeonios in the Walters Art Gallery), 101 and the width of the Z which recalls the inscription on the mosaic pavement at Madabâ.¹⁰²

The iconography of the stamp also points to a similar chronological period, for the cross between two saints or two apostles is common in the Early Christian period. It recalls the Sarigüzel sarcophagus in Constantinople, second half of the fourth century, 103 or the apse decoration of the chapel of Saints Primo and Feliciano in the church of Saint Stefano Rotondo in Rome, circa 650, and a number of minor objects, particularly medallions with similar representations, of the sixth century. 104 The depiction, however, of the hill of Golgotha or Paradise (?) is a special iconographic feature, which favors the early part of this period.

In trying to specify the particular use of this bread stamp, one is inclined to associate it with bread distributed on the festival day of Peter and Paul which is celebrated on June 29. This festival, which perhaps commemorates the translation of the relics of the two apostles in the catacomb of Saint Sebastian, was introduced in Constantinople about the end of the fifth century.¹⁰⁵

However, another possibility is suggested by the main inscription. Its second part referring to the cross is not unique or unusual, as parallel examples already cited show. Yet the "blessing" is associated with the cross, more so than with the apostles with whom it would have been connected if the bread were for distribution on their festival day. If this supposition is correct, and the emphasis is on the cross, the stamp was probably used for eulogia bread distributed on special occasions when the cross was "emphasized" in the church, obviously on a feast dedicated to the Holy Cross. We know that the Feast of the Cross is of Palestinian origin. It was instituted in order to commemorate the dedication of the basilicas (A.D. 335) elevated by the emperor Constantine on the Holy Sepulcher and Golgotha. The finding of the cross resulted in the Feast of the Finding of the True Cross, associated with the Exaltation of the Cross, the popularity of which increased in the late fourth and early fifth centuries and is described by the nun Aetheria. 106 From Jerusalem the solemnity passed to Constantinople, where, by the seventh century, the following three main feasts had already been established: Exaltation of the Cross (September 14), Adoration of the Cross (February 25), and the Finding of the Cross (March 6). To attempt to assign the stamp to one or the other of these feasts would be hazardous. But whatever the true solution of the problem, and the possibilities are several, there can be no question that the Vienna stamp should be associated with the eulogia bread. A similar conclusion must be drawn for the terra-cotta disks from Chersonese; their first editors characterized them as "votive." However, such an interpretation is not possible, for the design is sunken and the inscriptions on both disks appear in reverse-which means that these terra-cotta disks cannot be votive objects but must be stamps. Dalton has already suggested that these stamps may have been used to stamp cakes given to pilgrims, a suggestion that, on the basis of the evidence presented above, can be taken as certainty.107

At this point a bronze circular stamp recently acquired by the Museum of Fine Arts at Richmond, Virginia (Fig. 80), may be discussed. Its interpretation presupposes the evidence of the stamps already described. The stamp bears a representation of Saint Philipidentified by a Greek inscription, + O AΓΙΟC ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟC-standing with a scroll in his hands, between two edifices erected on top of a series of steps. Certainly he is the apostle and not any other of the less important saints with the same name found in the Greek martyrology. The edifice on the left is topped by a dome while the one on the right has a saddled roof; an oil lamp hangs from the ceiling. Each building is surmounted by a cross. Two other crosses appear on either side of each cross in the background. The following Greek inscription runs around the edge of the stamp: + AΓΙΟC ΑΓΙΟC ΑΓΙΟC ΚΥΡΙΟC CABAωΘ ΠΛΗΡΙ[sic] C ω [sic] OYPANOC ΚΕ[sic] Η ΓΙ[sic] THC AΓΙΑC COV Δω-[sic] El[sic] C ("Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord Sabaoth, Heaven and Earth are full of Thy Glory"). The inscription quotes part of the Sanctus or the hymn of victory sung by the Hosts of the Lord in the anaphora of the liturgy. Its inaccurate spelling should not be considered unusual, since Byzantine inscriptions are not famous for correctness.

The renderings of the letters A and ω are distinctive features of the inscription. The former is formed in two different ways, while the latter is noticeable for the strong inward leaning of its sides. Best paleographic parallels are found in works of the fifth century, such as in the inscription on the mosaic floor at Kaoussiye, dated from A.D. 412. 108 Likewise the two edifices, obviously shrines, with their distinct series of steps, recall similar structures appearing in Early Christian works dating from the fourth or fifth century, such as the five-part diptych from Milan dated 402. 109 These comparisons suggest a date in the fifth century which is supported also by the style of the figure. The stance, still echoing the classical contrapposto, finds its best parallels in figures appearing on Early Christian sarcophagi, in panels on mosaic floors dating from the fourth or fifth century, or tombstones of the same period. 110

The identification of the two buildings is uncertain. Philip was highly venerated in Hierapolis of Phrygia, where he died a natural death or suffered martyrdom. We cannot know whether the structures on the stamp are meant to be his martyrium (which seems particularly likely





Fig. 80.—Saint Philip. Bronze, diam. 10.8 cm., ca. 5th century. Stamp and impression. Photos by courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, Virginia.

for the domed one), or simply shrines devoted to his cult. Nor can we suppose that the stamp was used in Hierapolis itself, although Asia Minor may be the area of its provenance. Compositionally, however, the scene recalls representations of saints in their martyria (or *memoriae* a term used in the West), as for example the eleventh-century copy of an Alexandrian ivory of about A.D. 600, now in Milan, showing Saint Menas in his martyrium south of Alexandria, from the epistylium of which, incidentally, there hang oil lamps.¹¹¹

In the light of the stamps previously discussed a eucharistic use for this stamp cannot be supported. Most probably it was used for bread of special purpose, bread distributed to pilgrims on Philip's

festival day celebrated on November 14. The inscription, however, related to the celebration of the Sacrament, may be used as an objection against this hypothesis. Yet such an objection is not valid, because all kinds of bread of special purpose were related to the Eucharist, as we have already pointed out. Still another example from contemporary usage can be brought in here to illuminate this point further. In the Coptic Church a special kind of cake, separate from the eucharistic bread, is offered to the church or the poor on two festival days devoted to Michael, November 21 and June 19, respectively. The bread, known as Saint Michael's bread, prepared without any particular liturgical ceremony, is stamped by a stamp which, apart from the figure of the archangel trampling on the devil depicted in the center, includes on two of the arms of the cross the portions that normally appear on the eucharistic bread of the Orthodox Church (Fig. 81). Yet Saint Michael's stamp is not eucharistic. 112 This arrangement is comparable in concept to our stamp in which the inscription alludes to the Eucharist, but this does not necessarily make the stamp eucharistic; it only shows the close relation of these types of eulogia bread to the Eucharist.

> Genesis of the Custom of Distributing Bread at Saints' Festivals

With these last stamps, which may be of fifth- or sixth-century date, we have returned to an early period, and we can now understand the genesis of the custom of giving eulogia bread to pilgrims on the occasions of saints' festivals. It is most intimately connected with the growth of the cult of the martyrs. This cult is related to the concept created about holy places, places of martyrdom, or places which have some direct connection with the holy person for whom a cult was established. Pilgrims usually visited such places on the occasion of a feast honoring the martyr, as the pilgrims' texts specify. On such pilgrimages eulogiae were taken away, not only in the form of earth, oil, or holy water, but also in the form of a cake on which the image of the saint was stamped, or even in the form of a bread stamp. They were to commemorate the pilgrimage, and also to perpetuate the blessing. Perhaps we can go even further and suggest, but not prove, that this practice may have started as soon as the Christians took over

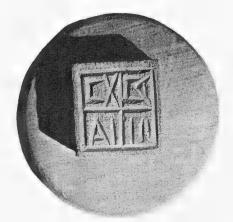




Fig. 81.—Saint Michael (Coptic). Wood, diam. 11 cm., modern copy. Photos by courtesy of the Deutsches Brotmuseum, Ulm, Germany.

a regular feature of funeral practice in pagan Rome and began celebrating the *refrigeria* or refreshment meals at the sites of martyrdom on the anniversaries of the deaths of the saints and martyrs. ¹¹⁵ The refreshment meal expressing the honor paid to the martyrs may have terminated with the distribution of a cake which possibly had a relevant symbol on it, a kind of pious invocation of the saints.

When the formal institution of annual feasts by the Church was inaugurated, and when every church had its triumphal arch placed over the relics of saints, the custom was possibly transferred from the martyrdom site to the church. There, on the anniversary of the feast of the saints to whom the church was dedicated, the pilgrims were given a eulogia in the form of a cake. And since the institution

of saints' feasts seems to have preceded that of the great festivals, it may be assumed that cakes carrying a blessing of a saint appeared earlier than those which were distributed at the great festivals. ¹¹⁶ This is a fascinating if hypothetical assumption. It would explain, however, the lack of Early Christian bread stamps with representations of great festivals.

Whether or not the assumption concerning the appearance of bread stamps with representations of great festivals proves tenable, the fact is that bread stamps show that the practice of distributing bread with the image of a saint on it did exist in the Byzantine Church by the sixth century at the latest.

The Significance of the Cleveland Mould

All the eulogia stamps for bread of special purpose which have been discussed above are related to a festival, and some of them definitely to a site. However, the representations on all of them refer to the festival and commemorate the event more than the site. It is obvious that the honor paid to a saint, or, in this case, the commemoration of a great festival, is more important than the site.

Yet there is one example known to me which emphasizes the site rather than the festival. This is a wooden mould now in the Cleveland Museum of Art in the United States (acc. no. 511520). The mould is said to be for a eucharistic wafer and to have been made in a Byzantine territory sometime in the seventh or eighth century (Fig. 82).117 It is circular, with one side blank and the other decorated as follows: around the edge a small ornamental band of vertical lines forms a narrow frame which includes a number of buildings represented in a stylized but clear fashion. In the lower foreground there is a colonnade, of which the columns, capitals, and architraves have been clearly indicated. Above the colonnade and to the left (to the right in the cast) a basilica is represented with a clerestory. Its façade seems to consist of three high columns placed between the walls. On top of the façade and at the end of the central part of the roof there is a pole bearing or terminating in a crescent. A similar but slightly larger pole, also with a crescent, appears on the opposite end of the roof.

Behind the basilica, or attached to it, there is another building consisting of two parts—a lower part formed by a number of large columns whose capitals are clearly suggested and an upper part with a





Fig. 82.—Sepulcher group, Jerusalem. Wood, diam. 8.4 cm., ca. 700 (?), from Syria (?). Mould and impression. Photos by courtesy of the Cleveland Museum of Art.

series of smaller columns or window openings, surmounted by a dome. On top of the dome there is another "crescent" seemingly larger and wider than the other two. On the upper part of the mould and presumably behind the basilica there is a conical roof which is perhaps supported by columns whose upper parts may be recognized along the basis of the triangle.

In front of the façade of the main basilica there is a big column on top of which is an object whose identification remains uncertain. Between the dome and the crescent on the left side of the basilica there appears an oblong projection of a slightly oval shape. There is a similar corresponding projection on the opposite side. These projections have the appearance of depicting real objects, and perhaps they are intended to represent trees between the buildings.

The structures on the mould recall at once the complex of buildings erected on Golgotha at Jerusalem by Constantine or his sons, namely the Martyrium and the Anastasis. This identification was first suggested by William D. Wixom in an exhibition entitled "Architectural Style in Miniature," held in the Cleveland Museum of Art in August 1959. Wixom plans to discuss his identification in an article, to be written in collaboration with Richard Krautheimer, on the architectural representation of the mould, and he may well propose modifications of my own discussion.

There is no doubt that Wixom's original proposal is correct. The mould shows the basilica, erected over the place where the true cross was found, mentioned by the Bordeaux pilgrim (A.D. 333) and by Aetheria, who took her journey to the holy places either in 395/6 or in 414–416 (recent scholarship supports the later date) and who gave the basilica the name of Martyrium.¹¹⁸

In the time of Constantine, the western end of the basilica terminated, according to some scholars, in an apse or, according to others, in a domed structure, the *hemisphairion* with its inner twelve columns. Beyond the basilica to the west there was an open courtyard enclosing the Tomb of Christ, which had the shape of a cone and was decorated with twelve columns supporting a baldacchino.¹¹⁹

The Constantinian plan did not remain unchanged. Behind the Martyrium, a new structure, the Anastasis, was projected or authorized to be built by Constantine before his death in order to honor the Tomb



of Christ. The Anastasis was a round building, a rotunda, built over the tomb (ca. 342) and surmounted by a dome, possibly of timber, which perhaps was open in the center. A semicircular colonnaded porch was on the outside of the building facing the basilica. Commonly this church is known as the Holy Sepulcher, but the first name given to it was Anastasis (Resurrection). An attempted restoration by Conant suggests the relationship of the two buildings (Fig. 83).

In attempting to interpret the mould one must consider the differences of opinion among scholars concerning details in the restoration of the Sepulcher group and the difficulties of a craftsman who attempted to represent it. Krautheimer is of the opinion that the basilica did not have clerestory windows. Conant favors their existence, and so does the unknown craftsman of the mould. Yet as long as the date of the mould is uncertain one can argue that it reflects a later phase in the history of this church. Similarly, the domical structure may be either the hemisphairion of the Martyrium or the rotunda of the Anastasis. If the first possibility is accepted, then the roof appearing on top of the basilica must be interpreted as the Anastasis. The second possibility, however, seems more convincing. The Anastasis had an exterior colonnade and an open dome which was clearly depicted on later representations of the Holy Sepulcher. Both features are shown or suggested on the mould: the portico is seen on the lower part of the domical structure; the oculus has taken the form of a crescent which crowns the dome. This interpretation, however, leaves unexplained the roof appearing at the top of the mould. One is tempted to see it as the pitched-roof structure of the Baptistry, restored by Conant on the basis of the mosaic in the basilica of Transjordan. 120 In reality the Baptistry was on the left side of the Sepulcher group and not on the right as it appears on the mould. The colonnade in the lower foreground of the mould should then be identified with the Propylaeum which opened to the west upon the principal street, the then Via Quintana, now the Khan-al-Zeit. This street was adorned on both sides by a colonnade. 121

According to some authors, an open court "paved with gleaming stones" surrounded the Martyrium and the Anastasis. This court may be recognized in the hatched space extending in front of the Anastasis and the Propylaeum in the Cleveland mould.

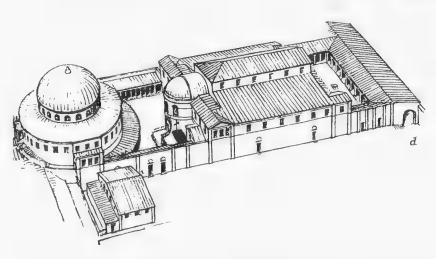


Fig. 83.—Sepulcher group, Jerusalem. Reconstruction, Constantinian times. Drawing by K. J. Conant, reproduced by permission, from K. J. Conant and G. Downey, "The Original Buildings at the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem," Speculum, 31 (1956), pl. 3 (fig. d).

Concerning the freestanding column in front of the Martyrium, that is, the column which stands in the atrium of the basilica, it can be suggested that it was meant to represent a votive column of a kind common in Palestine, like the columns near Golgotha, the column with a cross in the Jordan, Peter's column in the basilica of Zion, and the two columns of the flagellation. Such columns also appear on the ampullae of Monza. On the other hand, this column may allude to relics, such as the relics of the cross and other instruments of the Passion which were shown in the south compartment of the Martyrium, or the relics of the Virgin shown in the north compartment.

If the Cleveland mould represented only the Anastasis, other objects, such as ivories or illuminated manuscripts, would have provided parallel examples, and the fame which the Holy Sepulcher has had would explain its depiction on the mould. Les Such an explanation, however, is not sufficient, because the mould bears a topographical representation of an important part of Jerusalem in early post-Constantinian times that is not often encountered.

Pictures of the sacred sites of Jerusalem and Bethlehem were often introduced in apsidal mosaics. However, there are only two monu-

ments which can be considered as representing more or less realistically the churches which Constantine or his successors erected in the Holy Land. One is the apse of the church of Santa Pudenziana, which has amalgamated the Holy City with the church of Bethlehem, and the other is the floor mosaic from the church at Madabâ (Fig. 84). 126 In both examples, the Anastasis, the Martyrium, and the colonnaded principal street of Jerusalem are recognizable. These two monuments, therefore, constitute the best pictorial parallels referring to Constantinian Jerusalem that can be found for the Cleveland mould; and of all known examples, the representation of the rotunda in the Cleveland mould is the nearest to that in the Madabâ mosaic. The pictorial relationship of the mould to these monumental examples and the rarity of the representation raise the question of a possible chronological relationship as well. A sixth-century date has been accepted for the Madabâ mosaic, but this is too early a date for the Cleveland mould. The problem of dating the mould is a serious one. A letter from William D. Wixom informs me that the small size of the object makes carbon 14 testing inadvisable; therefore my own criteria for dating have to be based on the iconography.

Attention has already been drawn to the "crescents" over the represented buildings. In drawings and topographical maps of the Holy City made by various pilgrims in the Middle Ages, the main buildings are surmounted by either a cross or a small orb. The only works which seemingly represent a crescent on important buildings are a series of seals issued by the rulers of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. In these seals, published by Schlumberger, the Crusaders have presented, in the center, the Tower of David and, on either side, the Holy Sepulcher and the Templum Domini. 127 The Templum Domini is surmounted by the famous cross which replaced the crescent and which was destroyed in 1187 by Salah-ed-din. The Holy Sepulcher has a "crescent" which Schlumberger has interpreted as an error on the part of the designer of the model, who attempted to draw the oculus on top of the dome of the Holy Sepulcher. Smith, on the other hand, has seen a symbolic significance in the exaggeration of the oculus which resulted in the shape of a crescent.¹²⁸ It is possible to suggest that a further misunderstanding of the oculus appears on the Cleveland mould; the artist did not understand the oculus on the Holy Sepulcher and repeated it on the two corners of the basilica as an ornament. If this were so, it

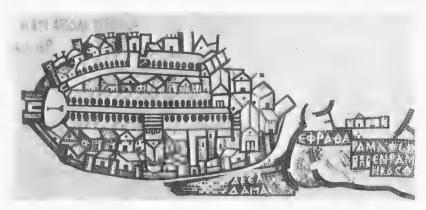


Fig. 84.—The City of Jerusalem. Floor mosaic, basilica of Madabâ, Transjordan, 6th century. Reproduced from Hugues Vincent and F. M. Abel, Jérusalem: Recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire, vol. 2, fasc. I-II (Paris, 1914), pl. 30.

would be logical to assign the mould to a date not far removed from the seals of the Latin Kingdom. In fact, the seals would have been the *terminus post quem*, since the exaggeration of the oculus with a possible lunar symbolism does not appear earlier.¹²⁹ Such a suggestion, however, is highly unlikely because the iconography of the mould is not related to that of the seals; the complex of buildings is different, the mould reflecting an earlier phase of the history of the Holy Sepulcher. This means that the twelfth century should be the latest possible date for the mould, which indeed presupposes either an earlier model or a date when the Constantinian buildings were still unaltered.¹³⁰

If we observe the two crescents on top of the Martyrium once again we see that they stand on small poles, and this is the manner by which a real crescent is attached to the dome of a mosque or a minaret. The plausible assumption would be that we are dealing with real crescents and not with meaningless ornaments. If this is accepted, it seems that the crescents were placed on the basilica by the artisan of the mould as an allusion to Islamic dominion over Jerusalem. Since the Islamic control lasted for a long period with some intervals, knowledge of some dates and the actual state of various buildings is necessary at this stage.

The city of Jerusalem was sacked in 614 by the Persians, and the Christian sanctuaries were burned and subsequently repaired. The restored Holy Sepulcher, however, kept the lines of the Constantinian edifice. In 638 Jerusalem was captured by the Arabs and the Caliph Umar entered the city. Nevertheless, pilgrims continued their visits to the Holy Land after the Arab conquest, and the information given to us by Arculfe, who visited Jerusalem in the seventh century, does not reveal a change in the Christian sanctuaries. But toward the middle of the tenth century the Muslims built a small mosque in the atrium of the Holy Sepulcher. In 1009 Al-Hakim ordered the destruction of the Christian monuments in Jerusalem, and although the Holy Sepulcher was rebuilt under Constantine IX Monomachus in 1048, the basilica which preceded the rotunda was not restored. Despite the destruction, the basilica continued to live in various souvenirs of pilgrimages until the end of the eleventh century. In 1056 the Holy Sepulcher was closed, and more than three hundred Christians were expelled from Jerusalem. In 1081 Jerusalem was taken by the Turks, to be liberated by the Crusaders who entered the Holy City triumphantly on July 15, 1099.131

Relating the evidence of the iconography of the mould to the historical facts and the various phases of the history of the building, it must be concluded that the mould or its model was made before the year 1009, that is, before the destruction of the Holy Sepulcher by the Fatimite Caliph, and after the year 638. In fact it may have been made at any time between the seventh and eleventh centuries. It is not possible to be more precise, though the detailed and accurate representation of the whole Sepulcher group points to the early part of this period.

Whatever the precise date of the mould, the accuracy of the depicted monuments and the pictorial suggestion of a specific period in the history of the Holy Sepulcher point to a connection of the mould with the Holy City. An investigation of this connection means, in fact, a clarification of its use.

The Cleveland mould, regarded in the light of the discussed stamps, cannot be considered as intended for eucharistic bread, for such an interpretation cannot be supported by the topographical representation of Jerusalem. Although in the Early Church there was no commonly accepted formula for the images on eucharistic and related loaves of bread, the Christians knew the different kinds of liturgical bread. As it has been repeatedly pointed out in the course of the discussion,

they attempted to differentiate them by means of symbols, representations, and inscriptions—none of which were used at random.

Such a differentiation must be seen in the Cleveland mould. The pictorial description of the city of Jerusalem implies a eulogia bread given to pilgrims to Jerusalem. This bread must have received a blessing and been distributed thereafter to pilgrims and must be called eulogia, even if it does not bear such an inscription. Today, for example, small loaves stamped with a representation of the Risen Lord are blessed during the liturgy at Jerusalem and are distributed afterwards to pilgrims. They are called eulogiae without bearing relevant inscriptions. It is customary, also, in Coptic monasteries for visitors, when they depart, to receive a small round loaf of bread stamped with symbols. The bread is given in remembrance of the pilgrimage the visitor has undertaken and completed.

Although the representation of the Risen Lord refers to the event rather than the site, it is possible that its antecedent was a representation of the actual place where the miracle occurred—the site marked with the church of the Resurrection. After all, pilgrims visited the Holy Land to experience the impact of the site where their Lord lived, was crucified, and rose from the dead, and to take with them the blessings of such a pilgrimage. It was natural that the bread given to them as a eulogia should have an image commemorating their pilgrimage. It is the pilgrimage that the Cleveland mould emphasizes, just as do the ampullae of the Holy Land, which, also by their scenes, reminded the pilgrims of the various churches they had visited and of the relics which they had venerated there. The Cleveland mould must have been used to stamp eulogia bread which the pilgrims could take with them, just as they took the earth of the Holy Sepulcher to heal the sick, and the miraculous oil from the wood of the cross of Christ in their flasks. 134

Commemorative Bread for Departed Christians

In the literary evidence introduced earlier regarding the existence and use of *bread of special purpose*, passages found in the typica of the monasteries were discussed, as well as contemporary usages which presumably continued earlier ones. Among the kinds of special bread associated with the liturgy or religious rites, the Byzantine typica

mention bread which was offered to the Church or distributed to the poor by the Church in memory of people departed from this life. The custom is found as well in the contemporary Orthodox world and in other eastern rites; loaves of bread often accompanied by other food are distributed by the relatives of the deceased to those who have attended a funeral. In some parts of the Orthodox world food is given on the third day after a person's death.

In fact the custom of offering food on a specific day after a death goes back to pre-Christian times. 135 The pagans used to honor the dead by visiting his grave, performing a ritual libation, and holding a funeral feast which was joyous in character. The Christians continued the refrigerium and gave it various meanings. 136 Synesius of Cyrene (d.413/14), in one of his letters, speaks of a funeral banquet that was celebrated on the seventh day after the death;137 and John Chrysostom, in his twenty-eighth homily on Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians, mentions the περίδειπνου. 138 The Apostolic Constitutions (ca. 380-400) refer in detail to the duties of the living toward their dead; instructions are given about celebrating the Holy Eucharist in churches and cemeteries and at funerals; prayers are cited which were to be repeated by the living for their departed relatives; and prayers are addressed by the bishop to God for the forgiveness of the sins of the departed. Mention is also made of the celebration of special liturgies on certain days after the death of a faithful Christian: on the third, in memory of the risen Christ; the ninth, for the consolation of the living; the fortieth, to continue an old tradition according to which the mourning for Moses had lasted that long; and on the anniversary, in remembrance of the departed. On this occasion something from his possessions should be given to the poor in his memory.139

During these memorial services a meal was offered as well, and the deceased being honored was considered to share the meal with his living relatives and friends. A Latin inscription on a tombstone in the form of a table, coming from Ain-Kebira (Mauretania Sitifensis), gives us a glimpse of these reunions. Here is its translation:

To the Memory of Aelia Secundula Indeed we have all bestowed many worthy gifts On the tomb of Mother Secundula. It now seemed good to us to place There where she rests a stone funeral table
At which we shall remember her many good deeds.
When the food is served, the cups are filled and the cushions arranged,
We, to heal the terrible wound that eats away at our hearts,
Shall speak eagerly about our pious good mother and render praises
To her in the evening, while the old woman sleeps.
She who nourished us now needs no food for ever.
She lived 75 years. 260 Provincial era. Statulenia Julia erected it. 140

There is little doubt that the commemorative bread mentioned in the Byzantine typica, along with contemporary customs of distributing such bread, stems from these Early Christian refreshment meals related to the memorial services in honor of martyrs, mentioned earlier, and of deceased ordinary Christians. Neither the typica nor the Early Christian sources tell us anything about the form or the symbols, if any, of the bread that played such an important part in religious funeral rites. From the discussion of the eulogia bread offered on saints' festivals and from the prayer that the bishop was instructed to recite on behalf of a deceased person, we can deduce this: if the bread bore an impression, it would have preferably been the name of the person for whose memory and honor the bread was given, or perhaps a quotation from or an allusion to the bishop's prayers, so that the recipient of this bread could pray for his departed friend or relative. The bishop's prayer was a prayer for forgiveness of sins: "May God forgive him [the departed] for whatever sins willingly or unwillingly he has committed ... may He include him in the bosom of the Patriarchs, the Prophets and the Apostles and all those who from the beginning of time have pleased thee, in a place where there is no sorrow, no suffering, no sighs." In other words, may God grant him bliss and happiness in a place full of light, refreshment, and peace.

Is there evidence to substantiate this deduction for an inscription on a commemorative loaf and to prove the existence and use of such bread since the first centuries of Christianity? A number of unpublished stamps, said to have come from Constantinople, in the collection of Mr. and Mrs. John de Menil in Houston, Texas, deserve consideration, as they contain some elements of special interest. Made of bronze, they are in the form of a Greek cross with crosswise inscriptions consisting either of names cited in the genitive or names and words relating to the afterlife. The form itself, not found on other objects for

which stamps were used—such as amphorae, for example, where the inscriptions are of a general nature—seems to have been reserved for bread stamps, as inscriptions of similar stamps discussed earlier show. The citing of the names alone does not mean that they were used for commemorative bread. They could have marked any kind of bread offered to a church in the Early Christian period, naming either the person who had made the offering or the person for whom the oblation was presented. This idea was suggested more than a hundred years ago by de Rossi, who published, with no specifications, a drawing of a rectangular stamp with the Greek inscription EYΛΟΓΙΑ ΕΥΠΟΡΙω.¹⁴³ De Rossi thought that this stamp should have been used for bread offered by or for a person named Euporius. In either case a blessing was asked.

The inscriptions, however, on two of the cruciform stamps discussed here are more complete and lead one to a more specific interpretation (Figs. 85, 86). They recall the contents of the prayer for a deceased Christian and epitaphs found in Early Christian cemeteries. One reads AΘANACIA ("Immortality"); the other, ΘΕΟΔωΡΑ ΕΥΤΥΧ[Ο]I, or EYTYXIA ("Theodora, be happy, farewell"). The first inscription declares belief in the immortality of the departed and constitutes a consolation for the living. The second inscription refers to hope for a blessed life in the place of light, among the saints. Both inscriptions recall epitaphs and medallions with the expressions χαῖρε ("Rejoice"); vale, εὐψύχει ("Farewell"); ή σὴ ψυχὴ ἀθάνατος ("Your soul is immortal")-all being not simply exhortations but statements of a celestial bliss-or vivas in Deo, a declaration of comfort and an allusion to the ZWH of the Johannine Gospel, which for the Christian means eternal life in Christ. 144 And they bring to mind some amphorae for wine or oil with the same motif impressed on the neck. In one instance, a fragment from Achmim-Panopolis, known to me through a drawing published by Forrer several years ago, the Greek inscription, running in two parallel lines, reads in translation, "Peace-Happiness."145 In this case the wish is not made for a particular person, since amphorae were, after all, commercial products.

The personal character of the second stamp reminds one of the toasts made for the departed during the funeral meal. Here the stamp finds its best parallels: *Pie, zeses* (the Latin transliteration of the

Fig. 85.—Stamp for commemorative bread, length 6.5 cm., ca. 5th century. Photo by courtesy of the owners, Mr. and Mrs. John de Menil, Houston, Texas.





Fig. 86.—Stamp for commemorative bread, length 7.7 cm., ca. 5th century. Photo by courtesy of the owners, Mr. and Mrs. John de Menil, Houston, Texas.

Greek for "Drink, live"); Dignitas amicorum, pie zeses (The pride of your friends, drink, live"); or Vivas dulcis anima Mara ("Live, sweet soul, Mara [Maria?]"); and Vita tibi ("Life to you"). One can still read these toasts and often the name for whom they were made, at the bottom of the drinking cups used at such meals; a large number of these cups, defying time, have been preserved in the Vatican Museum. These expressions have survived in some form to this day at funeral meals, still celebrated in some areas of the Orthodox world on the third day after the funeral. On the island of Mykonos, for example, the funeral feast itself is called μακαρία, "the blessed one"; and the expression for participating in such a feast, ἔφαγεν τὴν μακαρίαν, literally means that one partook of the meal set for the blessed soul. 147

The wish made for Theodora, the declaration of eternal life mentioned in the other stamp, and toasts made for the departed relate to that happiness that the blessed soul finds in the place of bliss mentioned in the *Apostolic Constitutions* in the bishop's prayer for the dead. If we were to paraphrase this inscription we would say, "May God be merciful and grant you a place of refreshment and peace." It is most likely, therefore, that these stamps were used for commemorative bread, and since they must be earlier than the sixth century—probably as early as the fourth century—their importance is obvious. They give concrete form to the meager evidence of Early Christian texts and are the earliest known examples of a custom that has continued from the time of the Early Christian Church to the present. They must have been used to stamp loaves for two departed persons as long as relatives or friends were left behind to remember them by celebrating a funeral feast.

One can deduce from some obscure texts that the use of these cruciform stamps for commemorative bread must have continued in Byzantine times. In the twelfth-century typicon of Eirene Doukaina, among the long enumeration of types of religious bread that are presented to the church in memory of all departed relatives of the founder, there are the following two passages containing additional instructions: "Every Saturday σταυρία should be presented for our parents, children and daughters-in-law, who have fallen asleep."148 And, further down, the text adds: "And on every Sunday, other σταυρία will be presented also for those that have fallen asleep." Literally the word σταυρίον means a small cross. Du Cange, who has noted these passages in his Glossarium, gives a most peculiar interpretation: "videntur esse processiones ecclesiasticae." This is absolutely unacceptable in the present context. It is also very unlikely that in the quoted passages the word means a small cross. One cannot imagine that every Saturday and every Sunday several crosses (the word is used in the plural) are brought to the church for the sake of the dead. The word has various meanings deriving from the form of the cross and it is most probable that in this case it refers to commemorative oblations stamped with a cruciform stamp, from which they took the name stavrion.

5 BREAD STAMPS AND BYZANTINE LITURGY

In the preceding chapters, I have presented and discussed the evidence of the bread stamps, and now it is time to reconsider it within the context of the development of the Byzantine liturgy, discussing first the eucharistic bread proper and then the eulogia bread.

Among eucharistic stamps we have found some with a variety of symbols, which may be of a very early date indeed (Figs. 21–28), and others which favor the symbol of the cross. The latter indicate that the practice of breaking the bread into four pieces dates from before the seventh century (Figs. 29–31, 36–39), though it was not universally followed until the ninth century.

These two types of stamps, distinguished broadly, reflect both a freedom in the celebration of the Eucharist and a tendency toward a more elaborate performance of the eucharistic rite, the latter shown in the formulation of a special eucharistic stamp which was in use by the seventh century and possibly earlier. An investigation, therefore, of the early phases of the liturgy will corroborate the evidence of the stamps and bring into sharper focus the beginnings of the story of the eucharistic bread and the rites that accompany its use.

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Liturgists agree that until the fourth century there was liturgical unity everywhere. Yet despite the fact that, even before the peace of the Church, the rites of Eucharist, Baptism, and Encaenia had acquired some stability, prayers varied considerably. The celebrant was allowed to improvise. Saint Justin clearly states that in the celebration of the Eucharist the officiant utters as many prayers and thanks as he can. Naturally such a freedom created variations in the rites which were manifested in many ways. In Alexandria, for example, according to the testimony of Basil the Great, the Eucharist could even be celebrated in private. Important also is the information given by the church historian Socrates (b. ca. A.D. 380), implying that in Egypt there continued to be a kind of agape, that is, the celebration of the Eucharist combined with a meal. Similar freedom and improvisation must also have applied to the offerings made by the people.

It is within this context that all bread stamps with a variety of eucharistic symbols must be seen. They reflect the phase of improvisation and freedom that marked the beginnings of the Christian liturgy, when, as Hanssens has pointed out, the Breaking of the Bread had no other meaning than its distribution to the participants. In view of this, it can be deduced that there was no need for a special stamp or for a prescribed formula pertaining to the eucharistic rites, particularly to the Prothesis and the Breaking of the Bread.

Yet very early the Fraction of the Bread also acquired a symbolic meaning. As is evident in I Corinthians 10:17, the pieces into which the one loaf of bread was divided, so that all could receive particles and could communicate, recalled the union of all in one body. Hence Saint Ignatius of Antioch (d. ca. 110) emphasizes the fact that by "breaking one bread" we prove the unity of the Church. But before the end of the second century, this symbolism lost its tone and another was substituted, the breaking of the body of Christ in the Passion. This, however, was not universal; in the beginning it appeared in only some of the Early Christian Churches. Slowly, the awareness of symbolic values spread throughout the Early Church and led to an elaboration of the actual rite, shown in the various forms the Fraction took in the East and the West. This new symbolism was eventually to affect the appearance of the bread as well. The cross was favored over other symbols as it emphasized the sacrifice and the victory of

Christ and of the Christians. If an interpretation, other than liturgical or symbolical, of the forms of the Fraction and the ideas that prompted the choice were to be undertaken, our understanding of the minds of the various Christian communities would be increased. The abstract values, for example, of the bread on the Byzantine paten as opposed to the realism of the Syrian Jacobite Church (see Fig. 50) would be a case in point, but it cannot be pursued within the context of this study.

We can now interpret representations of eucharistic bread on various monuments in the early centuries. On Early Christian sarcophagi found in the Roman catacombs, the representations of bread that can be considered eucharistic, mainly for iconographic reasons, are characterized by the presence of some form of cross, the Christogram, or dots. In some instances the entire loaf is divided into four parts by a cross, giving the panis quadratus. These small loaves bore the mark of the cross, for they were customarily folded in that fashion. Examples can be seen on a sarcophagus in the Museo delle Terme in Rome (Fig. 87)9 and in a third-century funerary relief from Phrygia which depicts a frontally standing figure holding a bunch of grapes suspended from a tau-cross in his left hand. 10 In other examples—as for instance on a sarcophagus dating from the fourth century in the catacomb of Priscilla¹¹—the monogram of Christ occurs on the loaves, which could easily have derived from the six-partite loaves used since pagan times. In others, the small round cakes are marked only by a small dot in the center; in the actual loaf it is a hole. An illustration is provided by the eucharistic symbols, fish with bread and wine, in the crypt of Lucina in the catacomb of Callistus, which Wilpert dated in the second half of the second century, 12 though it probably dates shortly after 200.

All three variations occur on a sarcophagus at the Museo delle Terme. Here, in a scene of the Multiplication of the Loaves, symbol of the Eucharist, there are loaves of bread with a cross, one loaf with the Constantinian Christogram *, and others with simple dots.¹³ Wilpert, who has published the sarcophagus, suggests that by placing the Christogram on one of the loaves only, the unknown artist intended to make clear that all these loaves of bread, though variously stamped, were not ordinary bread, but bread which had been consecrated. These



Fig. 87.—The Supper at Emmaus. Early Christian sarcophagus, Museo delle Terme, Rome. Photo Alinari no. 28330.

examples certainly recall some actual stamps which bear a simple cross or the Christogram (see Figs. 18, 19, 24), and, like them, these representations clearly show that during the first centuries of the Church there was no prescribed formula for the making of the eucharistic bread. The same freedom that marked the celebration of the Eucharist applied to its elements as well.

It is only during the fourth century that differentiations in the Christian worship begin to appear and the liturgical families begin to take their special form: the family of the Antiochene or Syriac liturgies, formed between the fourth and seventh centuries, and the Alexandrian family, the earliest document of which is the Sacramentary of Serapion, often referred to in this study, dating from the middle of the fourth century. The Byzantine liturgy properly speaking, which belongs to the Antiochene family, goes back to the end of the fourth century. For nearly three centuries after this the stamps bear witness to a period of formation, some showing a state of improvisation, others revealing the formulation of a stable rite (Figs. 29–31, 36, 37, 39). These are also the centuries from which we have the first literary references about the form of the eucharistic bread.

The various complicated arrangements of the broken bread upon the altar that were evolved in the eastern Churches after the fourth century were followed by other developments, the most important of which is the change of the Proskomide which resulted in the formation of the Great Entrance. ¹⁶

In the first centuries the ceremony of the Proskomide was performed with great simplicity, as we have already said. After the departure of the catechumens and after the kiss of peace, which reconciled and united the hearts of the worshipers, the faithful presented their gifts, an act symbolizing their offering of themselves to God, and the officiant recited the prayer of the Proskomide. In the West the gifts were taken by the people sometimes as far as the chancel of the sanctuary, or were placed on small tables or baskets in the sanctuary.¹⁷ An idea of the various gifts, and perhaps of the way they were offered, can be obtained from the mosaic on the site of the wooden altar in the Constantinian basilica of Aquileia (314-320). Although the scene is not a direct representation of the offertory procession to the altar, as Lietzmann had assumed, it does show the eucharistic elements—a basket with bread and a jar with wine—and men and women bringing bread, grapes, birds, and garlands of flowers (Fig. 88; cf. Fig. 89). 18 In the East, however, the people soon began to leave the offerings at the diakonikon, from where they were taken by the deacons to the sanctuary and were presented to the bishop. Nevertheless in some places the presentation of the gifts in the sanctuary by the faithful persisted until the fourth century or later. At least this seems to be the case at Pontus, eastern Syria, and perhaps at Constantinople, as testimonies of Gregory of Nazianzus (d. ca. 390) and Jacob of Sarug (d. 521) suggest. 19 Eventually this custom, which, according to the Sixty-ninth Canon of the Council of Trullo, was a very old one, was abolished.20 It was kept only for offerings made by the emperor, as the episode of Theodosius I told by Theodoretus attests.21 It is true that the event took place in Milan, where the penitent emperor sought absolution from Saint Ambrose after the massacre at Thessalonica. The historian, however, states that Theodosius presented his gifts at the Holy Table as "he used to do" (i.e., in Constantinople).

Toward the end of the fifth century, Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite speaks of a ceremonial procession led by deacons and priests carrying the bread and the wine to the sanctuary.²² But even before Dionysius, at the beginning of the fifth century, Theodore of Mopsuestia speaks in his catechetical sermons of the presentation of the gifts in the manner of a litany which was considered a reënactment of the Passion of Christ.²³ This concept was also introduced by Narsai of Nisibis to the Nestorians after 503, and it began to be formed



Fig. 88.—Offertory scene (?). Floor mosaic from the basilica of Bishop Theodorus in Aquileia, 314-320. Photo by courtesy of Dr. S. Foltiny, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton.

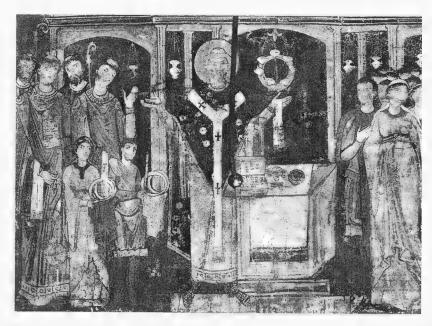


Fig. 89.—Saint Clement celebrating Mass. Fresco, lower church of Saint Clement, Rome, 11th century. Photo Alinari no. 26579.

independently in Byzantium itself (Constantinople) during the fifth century. 24 By the middle of the sixth century it had taken the form of the Great Entrance. During the Great Entrance the presentation of the elements is accompanied by a hymn according to which the elements represent the King of All, who, escorted invisibly by the angelic orders, proceeds toward the altar of sacrifice. 25

While the Great Entrance was taking its form, before the year 547, the decorators of the church of San Vitale at Ravenna placed in the sanctuary of the church and over the altar scenes of symbolic sacrifices which made reference to the sacrifice of Golgotha and the oblation that every Christian was invited to make: Abraham is ready to offer his son; Abel offers his lamb to God; Melchizedek brings bread and wine (Figs. 90, 91). The choice of scenes and their relation to the altar reveal not only that the Eucharist is the heart of the Church, but that the decoration of the church begins to revolve around the Sacrament. If, then, the celebration of the Sacrament begins to affect

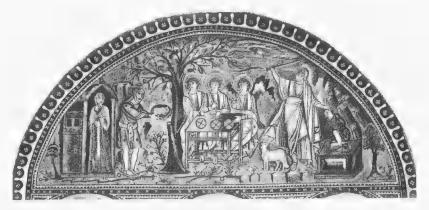


Fig. 90.—Hospitality and Sacrifice of Abraham. Mosaic, church of San Vitale, Ravenna, 6th century. Photo Alinari no. 18219.

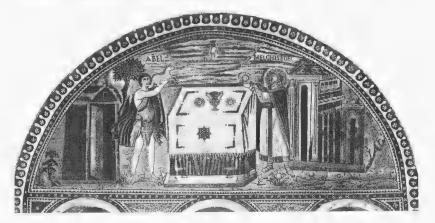


Fig. 91.—Sacrifice of Abel and Melchizedek. Mosaic, church of San Vitale, Ravenna, 6th century. Photo Alinari no. 18216.

the decoration of the church, pointing the way to the program of decoration which was to become predominant in the Middle Byzantine period, and if the ceremony of the Great Entrance begins to acquire such elaborate symbolism in the first half of the sixth century, it is difficult to suppose that the bread carried during the ceremony had remained a matter of improvisation. In fact, in the mosaics of San Vitale certain important characteristics in the representation of the eucharistic bread are evident. Whereas in the scene of the Hospitality

of Abraham in the same church, we recognize the panis quadratus (Fig. 90) in the three round loaves placed before the three angels, in the sacrificial scene of Melchizedek the three round loaves of bread, one in the hands of Melchizedek and two on the altar, have a very elaborate form (Fig. 91). One recognizes here the corona mentioned in the Liber pontificalis and by Gregory the Great.²⁷ The distinction between the bread shown in these two scenes, along with the elaborate manner in which the eucharistic bread is portrayed, suggests at least the increasing importance already attached to the eucharistic bread before the middle of the sixth century. These observed changes coincide with the formative years of the Great Entrance.

Shortly thereafter, by the middle of the century, the form of the Great Entrance was completed. But its symbolism was to become more explicit in the treatise attributed to Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople from 715 to 729. The litany and its symbolism which centered upon the eucharistic elements indicate that a formula must have been established which concerned both the actual appearance of the bread and the rites performed with it.

The stamp from Achmim-Panopolis with the letters IC XC $\Theta Y YC$ shows the beginning of this formula (Fig. 37). The stamp has been dated to the fourth or fifth century, but probably it should be dated to the end of the sixth. Shortly thereafter, the formula of John Chrysostom appeared in its complete form in the stamp from Cyprus, now in the British Museum (Fig. 38). It is obvious, therefore, that immediately after the formation of the Great Entrance, the formula of John Chrysostom concerning the eucharistic bread had appeared in areas where the Byzantine rite was followed. This was the culmination of a development clearly shown on the stamps: in the Early Church it was the simple cross that marked the eucharistic bread; later the cross either acquired additional symbols or was multiplied into several crosslets. These stamps were used by various Christian communities, as the diversity of their geographical origins shows.

The letters added to the simple cross were substitutes for symbols first declaring the divinity of Christ, then the triumph of the Sacrament. With the introduction of the latter, the eucharistic stamp that was to be used for centuries to come in the Byzantine rite had come into being.

However, the composition with the crosslets led to other developments. We can assume that at the beginning the multiplication of the symbol was necessitated by the need to mark on the oblation as many individual particles as possible. At a period when the eucharistic elements were given separately, these particles were distributed to the communicants, each receiving a portion marked with a sacred symbol, the cross. It is in the old Liturgy of Saint James and on the stamps that conform to it that the best reflection of this ancient practice has survived (Figs. 43-45). Most of the eastern Churches that separated from the Byzantine adapted this type for their stamps and, under the influence of the symbolism of the Fraction, produced variations of the original composition. Since this liturgy was performed not only in Jerusalem and Antioch but in the area of Constantinople as well, this type was used there, as examples found in Byzantine territories have shown. However, since the Early Byzantine period the formula that was to predominate and be identified with the Byzantine rite was that of John Chrysostom. In later years both formulas were brought together in at least one example, the Sinai stamp (Fig. 42).

The formula of John Chrysostom pressed upon the bread does not seem to have changed during the subsequent years, although the ceremony of the Prothesis, or Proskomide, was formed in greater detail, being the symbol of Christ's death on the cross, and the symbolism of the Great Entrance in the Byzantine rite acquired a clearer expression. Yet slight variations pertaining to the form of the bread, or the number of the portions of the Host, which correspond to variations found within the Byzantine rite from one area to another, have been noticed. A case in point is the stamp found at Brindisi which possibly conforms with the usage described in a twelfth-century manuscript, which, it has been suggested, may represent Sicily or southern Italy (Fig. 41).

In the light of this discussion, we can see the formula of John Chrysostom in monumental representations of Communion scenes. In the church of Hagia Sophia in Ohrid, Yugoslavia, there are two liturgical scenes dating from the early years of the eleventh century. One shows Saint Basil celebrating the liturgy at a church altar; the other shows the Communion of the Apostles (Figs. 92, 93). In the first

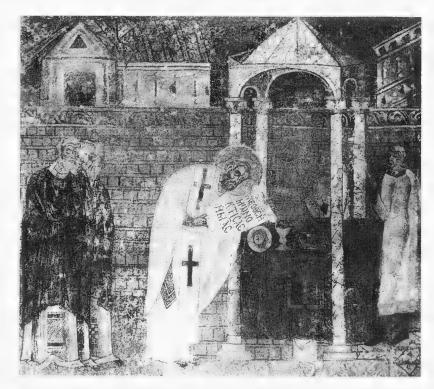


Fig. 92.—Saint Basil celebrating the Divine Liturgy. Fresco, church of Saint Sophia, Ohrid, Yugoslavia, 11th century. Photo by courtesy of the Gallery of Frescoes, Belgrade.

example the eucharistic bread is placed on the altar; in the second it is in the left hand of Christ. Both examples clearly show the eucharistic stamp in the very center of the round loaf. A comparison with Early Christian representations of eucharistic bread proves that this is not the *panis quadratus*, but a round loaf stamped with a small round stamp bearing the sign of the cross. In the scene of Saint Basil the stamp does not appear to have contained any signs between the arms of the cross; but in the scene of the Communion of the Apostles the artist has depicted, stamped on the bread between the arms of the cross, four small dots, undoubtedly an abbreviation of the letters IC XC NI KA, which appear in actual stamps, like the twelfth-century stamp from Brindisi (Fig. 41).

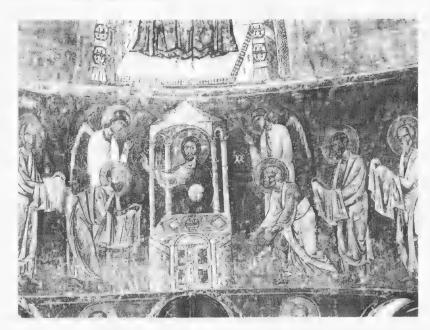


Fig. 93.—The Communion of the Apostles. Fresco, church of Saint Sophia, Ohrid, Yugoslavia, 11th century. Photo by courtesy of the Gallery of Frescoes, Belgrade.

More details of the eucharistic rite are shown in an earlier work, a tenth-century manuscript of the homilies of John Chrysostom in the National Library in Athens (cod. 211). In a miniature on folio 56r one sees a eucharistic round loaf of bread on the Christian altar (Fig. 94). The loaf is divided into four sections by a cross, each section marked by four dots-again an abbreviation of the letters which appeared on the actual stamp and consequently on the actual bread. But on folio 110v of the same manuscript, another miniature shows a liturgical eucharistic scene: Peter and Paul receiving Communion from Christ (Fig. 95). On the altar there is a paten which contains four portions disposed in a cross form, which certainly represent the eucharistic bread after the Fraction and before the Communion; this shows beyond doubt that the Lamb was broken into four pieces "as incised." One of these portions is to be placed in the chalice for the Communion, as one can see in the fresco of the Communion of the Apostles which decorates the apse of Saint Sophia in Kiev.²⁹ Although



Fig. 94.—Top, Preparation for banquet. Bottom, Eucharistic scene, the bread on the Christian altar. Athens, National Library, cod. 211, "Homilies of Saint John Chrysostom," fol. 56^r. Photo by courtesy of the Byzantine Museum, Athens.

not shown in the miniature, each of these four portions should bear two letters—as the stamps have shown—all eight constituting the formula IC XC NI KA. On the same table and next to the chalice are five other round cakes, also placed in a cross form. Grabar, who has published the miniature, explains these five as the loaves offered to Mary, the prophets, the saints, the dead, and the living. The honored persons vary, and different names could be given to the oblations. This does not change the correctness of the explanation of the miniature, which shows three different moments of the liturgy: the Prothesis,



Fig. 95.—Peter and Paul receiving Communion from Christ. Athens, National Library, cod. 211, "Homilies of Saint John Chrysostom," fol. 110°. Photo by courtesy of the Byzantine Museum, Athens.

the Fraction of the Bread, and the Communion. At the Prothesis the loaves are shown before the extraction of the particles offered to all saints, a practice that must have been introduced by the ninth century, as the stamp from "Dominus Flevit" has shown (Fig. 40). No mention of this practice is made in liturgical manuscripts before the end of the eleventh or early twelfth century, and one must go to sixteenth-century codices to find the portions of the Lamb mentioned by letters. We can now see all the more the meaningful language of the stamps.

The added particles, however, as the study of the stamps has shown, were not always "named" on the stamp, and thus were not indicated

on the loaf. Their omission or inclusion shows, on the one hand, a freedom allowed by the Church—clearly seen on two examples that are set far apart from each other in time, the "Dominus Flevit" and Sinai stamps—and, on the other hand, the constant development of the rite. This freedom has continued to this day, for one can still see eucharistic stamps marked with the Lamb only. It is more common, however, in post-Byzantine examples to see the inclusion of all portions in one loaf. Thus, its arrangement having been completed, the eucharistic loaf now resembles the actual paten prepared at the Prothesis and has become a visual symbol of the unity of the Church, comprising the living saints on earth and those who triumphed in heaven, all placed around the sacrificial Lamb, which is given for food to the faithful (Figs. 54–58).

"In this divine symbol," says Symeon of Thessalonica, "and in the act of the holy Prothesis we see Jesus Himself and His Church all one. . . . He is represented by the Host in the middle, His mother by the particle placed to the right. Saints and angels stand to the left. And below we see the pious assembly of all those who believed in Him. And this is a great mystery . . . for God to be among men, and God among gods deified by Him who is God by Nature." Upon this paten and the bread that mirrors it, the Orthodox Christian sees the fulfillment of his goal: his deification on this earth, a unique doctrine of the eastern Church. At the same time the eastern Christian makes clear the distinction on the bread. Only the Lamb of God is given for food to the faithful. His Church surrounds the Lamb and partakes of His divinity, for man becomes god by grace, while God is so by nature. 32

In addition to the eucharistic bread, the Church has used other kinds of liturgical bread. As we have seen, some of them, such as the bread which was sent from one Christian to another as a sign of affection and communion, spring from the eucharistic bread. Others, such as the bread distributed at the agape in the Early Church, may have had an independent existence from the very beginning. The differentiation of these loaves of bread had taken place by the fourth century, as the *Sacramentary of Serapion* (which implies the use of bread of special purpose) and various stamps have shown.

All these types of bread loaves which are related to the Eucharist but are not consecrated are known in the Early Church under the general term *eulogia*. Among them we have distinguished two broad categories: bread distributed at the end of the liturgy and loaves of bread for other special purposes. In the Early Church, and after their differentiation had occurred, these loaves of bread probably had an existence independent of the eucharistic bread. The stamps for the bread which was to be distributed at the end of the liturgy made a reference to the prayer in the Dismissal (Figs. 63–69), while the eulogia bread of special purpose bore a stamp which alluded to the occasion or to the site at which it was distributed (Figs. 70–82).

In the course of the development of the rite the eulogia bread of the Dismissal became part of the eucharistic bread, part of the prosphora, and in the twelfth century it became known as *antidoron*.

That all our eulogia stamps bearing the blessing said at the Dismissal date before the ninth century may not be without significance after all. Of course, the arguments put forward in the introduction for an uneven chronological distribution are still valid. Excavations may turn up other later pieces. This would not be surprising, if we consider that the introduction of a new usage does not at once eliminate or substitute for older practices. The eucharistic bread is a case in point, but texts also suggest the persistence of older usages, for some time at least. In the tenth-century typicon of the church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, for example, one reads of the distribution of eulogia bread at the end of the liturgy (September 1) by the patriarch to the members of his office.³³

However, considering all that has been discussed, alternative explanations for the lack of later eulogia stamps can be suggested. Perhaps there was no need for them once the antidoron had generally ceased to exist as an independent loaf separate from the Eucharist. Not unrelated is also the evidence of the "Dominus Flevit" stamp, dating from the ninth century or earlier, which shows the addition of the particles and implies a development in the ceremony of the Proskomide. Probably it was then, about the eighth century or shortly thereafter, that the present-day usage of the antidoron was formulated. In the light of this conclusion we can now see that the information concerning the antidoron usage given by Pseudo-Germanus must be considered as part of the original eighth-century text, and not a later

interpolation. In the preceding years the eulogia that was distributed at the end of the liturgy had the form of a loaf or cake.

Pseudo-Germanus, who records the change in usage, considers the entire loaf of bread as a symbol of the body of the Virgin Mary. From this body, he tells us, the body of the Lord has been extracted, as it were, from the womb of Mary; that is, the Lamb has been drawn from the center of the eucharistic loaf. The remaining part of the loaf, which he specifically called "bread of the body of the Virgin," is distributed to the faithful and it is the source of spiritual blessing and other benefits for the recipient. Such symbolism implies other ideas but does not state them. The extraction of the Lamb from the body of the Virgin obviously refers directly to the mystery of the Incarnation and the role of Mary. Christians probably became aware of the Mysterium when they were given parts of the remaining prosphora, that is, parts of the symbol of Mary's body, at the end of the liturgy. On the other hand, Mary was considered to be the symbol of the Church; so it may again be supposed that the symbolic distribution of her body meant communion with the body of the Church. We do not know whether these ideas caused the change of usage or developed from it, for certainly ideas must have prompted the change. In the last analysis, the eulogia bread became part of the prosphora in the Byzantine rite as a result of the development of symbolism on the one hand and the need to stress more and more the association of the eulogia bread to the Eucharist on the other.

It is significant to repeat here that in the eleventh century the patriarch Nicholas III Grammaticus amplifies Germanus's idea that the antidoron is a source of good to Christians and points out its importance to one's own health. It is this particular meaning—and Raes has already drawn attention to it—that conceptually relates the antidoron to the pagan hygieia. But the concept of the pagan hygieia, the idea of restoring bodily health, had already been manifest in the actual Eucharist. This certainly indicates that the antidoron has several antecedents: the bread served at the agape, the Eucharist, and, indirectly, the pagan hygieia.

The relationship of bodily health to the antidoron has survived to this day, although those who believe in it are not aware of the

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origins of their belief. In his account of his journeys to the sites of Early Christendom, Bamm mentions that the monks of the monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai distributed antidoron to the Bedouins believing that it would have beneficial effects on them.³⁵ The persistence of the hygicia concept and the indirect survival of the special pagan hygicia bread should not surprise anyone who is aware of the multiple contributions of paganism to the development of Christianity, particularly to that of the East.

Whereas the eulogia antidoron became part of the prosphora, the use of the eulogia bread of special purpose continued, and through the stamps we have been able to follow its fascinating story with no interruption from the fifth century to the present day. The stamps led us back to the Early Church, the fellowship of the Church, the shrines of the saints, their festivals, and to the *loca sancta* of Christendom and the refreshment meals celebrated for the dead. They spoke unmistakably of the usage of distributing bread as a eulogia on these occasions as it is still done to this day. We are tempted to complete silent texts with the inclusion of such a distribution whenever mention is made of a blessing given by a bishop or priest at the end of the liturgy celebrated at a famous shrine or on the occasion of a festival.

On a Sunday in the fifth century, Aetheria, among other pilgrims to Jerusalem, attended in the church of the Anastasis the celebration of the liturgy at the end of which the participants went to the Martyrium. The liturgy was concluded by the participants' kneeling in front of the Holy Sepulcher and receiving the bishop's blessing, which was followed by the Dismissal.³⁶ Two centuries later, Arculfe described the Veneration of the Cross on Easter Saturday in the church where the Cross of Christ had been kept in Constantinople.³⁷ Did Aetheria and Arculfe receive, with the blessing that the bishop bestowed upon them, a loaf of special bread with a relevant image? We can neither prove that they did nor know whether they carried a blessed stamp back to their distant countries to remind them of their pilgrimage. But there is no doubt that such bread existed and was given to pilgrims, and that stamps were available, as the mould in the Cleveland Museum of Art and the eulogia stamp in Vienna show (Figs. 82, 79).

This study began with the stamps and was intended to be devoted to these humble, unglamorous objects which are mostly forgotten in

museum cases or catalogues. To decipher their language, literary sources were consulted but with disappointing results: if not contradictory, the literature was mute, and often raised more questions than it answered. It was the stamps that yielded, slowly, their own information, eventually supplying some answers vainly sought in literary sources and sometimes corroborating and clarifying obscure suggestions made by the texts. Had it not been for the stamps, the texts, in many instances, would have kept their secrets. Scanty references to the bread in the early period and extensive commentaries on the liturgy in the later periods have come to life. This was a triumph for the stamps. The small "insignificant" objects became very attractive; they grew in importance. In most cases they had spoken and they made the texts speak too, and, out of the dialogue of literary sources and stamps, some sketches of the life of the Church grew, just as the Church fed upon the Living Bread that is "never consumed, but sanctifies those who partake." And as Paul says, "we are all partakers of that one bread" (I Cor. 10:17).

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- 27 See Dölger's reservations and his remarks on the difficulties in clarifying usages of stamps, in Antike, pp. 10ff.; Wulff, Altchr. Bildwerke, I, 274; Strzygowski, Kopt. Kunst, p. 139.
- 28 Ignatius Ephraem II Rahmani, ed., Testamentum Domini nostri Jesu Christi (Mainz, 1899), p. 35; Johannes Quasten, Monumenta eucharistica et liturgica vetustissima, Florilegium patristicum, fasc. VII, pt. I (Bonn, 1935), pp. 248, 249.
- 29 For the eucharistic significance of the Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes, see H. Clavier, "La multiplication des pains dans le ministère de Jesus," Studia evangelica, Papers Presented to the International Congress on the Four Gospels, Oxford, 1951, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, no. 73 (Berlin, 1959), DD. 44I-457.
- 30 See an example in the cemetery of Priscilla, Rome, reproduced and discussed in Wilpert, Fractio Panis, p. 83; also Franz Xaver Kraus, Geschichte der christlichen Kunst, I (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1896), 519, 520; H. Leclercq, "Fer à hosties," and "Pain," in DACL, 5, pt. 1, col. 1366; 13, pt. 1, cols. 436-461.
- 31 Sources of information about such loaves are de Fleury, Messe, pp. 21-40; Dölger, Antike, pl. 10, and p. 37n150; Josef Andreas Jungmann,

Missarum Sollemnia (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1952), 2, 40ff. 32 King, Eastern Rites, 1, 105.

Chapter 2

- The Greek Bucolic Poets, trans. J. M. Edmonds, Loeb Classical Library (London, 1917; reprint 1950), pp. 190, 191.
- 2 De Iside et Osiride, chap. 30, in Moralia, ed. G. N. Bernardakis, 2 (Leipzig, 1889), 501.
- 3 Ibid., chap. 50, p. 524.
- 4 Cf. Dölger, Antike, pp. 1-3.
- 5 M. Bieber, "Kuchenform mit Tragödienszene," Programm zum Winkkelmannsfeste der Archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin, 75 (1915), 27, pl. 3a.
- 6 Examples of pagan bread stamps can be found in museum catalogues and individual excavation reports. Several stamps have been found in Alexandria and Asia Minor; see Ernst von Sieglin, Ausgrabungen in Alexandria, vol. 2, Die griechisch-ägyptische Sammlung E. von Sieglin, ed. R. Pagenstecher (Leipzig, 1913), pp. 166, 167, 222–228, and plates; Theodor Wiegand et al., Priene (Berlin, 1904), pp. 465–468; Deonna, ASA, n.f. 21, 89, 90 (cf. Dölger, Antike, p. 10); Dölger, Fischsymbol, 4, pl. 156 (figs. 1–3); M. Währen, Brot und Gebäck im Leben und Glauben der alten Ägypten (Bern, 1963), pls. 28, 30; F. Eckstein and Th. Klauser, "Brotstempel," in RAC, 2, cols. 630–631.
- 7 For the text, see Eugène Revillout, *Chrestomathie démotique*, Etudes égyptologiques, no. 4, pt. 2 (Paris, 1880), p. 176; Dölger, *Antike*, pp. 3–5.
- 8 P. Perdrizet, "YΓΙΑ ΖωΗ ΧΑΡΑ," Revue des études grecques, 27 (1914), 269-270.
- 9 Corpus fabularum Aesopicarum, ed. A. Hausrath, 1, fasc. I (Leipzig, 1957), p. 41, fabula 28 (fabula 58 in the Halm edition). Cf. Dölger, Fischsymbol, 2, 290, 291.
- 10 Herodotus 2. 47 (ed. P. E. Legrand [Paris, 1936], 2, 99–100).
- II See Suidas, s.v. βοῦς ἔβδομος (ed. I. Bekker [Berlin, 1854], p. 227); Dölger, Antike, p. I.
- 12 R. Wünsch, "Ein Dankopfern an Asklepios," Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, 7 (1904), 95–116; Perdrizet, in Revue des études grecques, 27, 269, 270; Deonna, ASA, n.f. 21, 93–95; Dölger, Antike, pp. 5ff.
- 13 Deipnosophistai 14. 54, 55, 56 (ed. G. Kaibel, 3, [Leipzig, 1887], 427, 429, 430).
- 14 Dölger, Fischsymbol, 3, pl. 78 (fig. 7); Adrian, Halm und Glut, p. 96.
- Dölger, Antike, pp. 44-46; Raffaele Garrucci, Monumenti del Museo Lateranense (Rome, 1861), 1, 52-54; 2, pl. 32; Dölger, Antike, pp. 1ff.,

- 39ff., 41; F. Eckstein and A. Stuiber, "Brot," in RAC, 2, cols. 626-630.
- 16 See Catonis de agri cultura, ed. A. Mazarino (Leipzig, 1962), pp. 61, 62, 60; see also Dölger, Fischsymbol, 2, 424; 3, pls. 52 (fig. 1), 62 (fig. 1); idem, Antike, p. 37.
- 17 Dölger, Fischsymbol, 2, pls. 40 (fig. 4), 42 (fig. 4), 56, 63; idem, Antike, pp. 39-43.
- 18 Dix, Shape, p. 172.
- The abolition of the cross as punishment is reported by Aurelius Victor and Sozomenus; see H. Leclercq, "Croix et crucifix," in *DACL*, 3, pt. 2, cols. 3064-65, with good bibliography; also Michael Gough, *The Early Christians* (London, 1961), p. 84.
- 20 Der Meer, Atlas, p. 133, fig. 424a.
- 21 Dölger, Fischsymbol, 2, 388, 3, pls. 37 (fig. 6), 42 (fig. 3), 70 (fig. 1).
- 22 CSEL, vol. 29, Epistulae, ed. G. de Hartel (Vienna, 1894), pt. 1, 18; Dölger, Antike, pp. 44-46; idem, "Panis trifidus," in Antike und Christentum: Kultur und religionsgeschichtliche Studien, 6 (Münster in Westfalen, 1940), 67.
- 23 Attention to this and other stamps, now in Geneva, has already been drawn by Deonna, ASA, n.f. 21, 90-93, figs. 4-7. The earlier bibliography can also be found here.
- For an example of the fish symbol, see a terra-cotta bread stamp in Dölger, Antike, p. II, pl. I (fig. 6); also idem, Fischsymbol, 3, pl. 78 (figs. 3, 4, 5). An example of the "Light-Life" monogram may be found in Wulff, Altchr. Bildwerke, I, pl. 70 (no. 1437); the date of this example is uncertain.
- For other examples, see Wulff, Altchr. Bildwerke, 1, pl. 70 (nos. 1412, 1414, 1415).
- 26 For other examples, see Forrer, *Panopolis*, pl. 9 (figs. 3, 4); Strzygowski, *Kopt. Kunst*, no. 8808, p. 140, fig. 208; Deonna, *ASA*, n.f. 21, 93, fig. 7 (no. 8).
- 27 For examples of the stamps mentioned in this paragraph, see Wulff, *Altchr. Bildwerke*, 1, pls. 9 (no. 314), 70 (nos. 1414, 1432-34), p. 274 (no. 1413); 2, pl. 9 (no. 2257).
- 28 Dalton, Catalogue, no. 981; a similar stamp was published by Strzygowski, Kopt. Kunst, no. 8808, p. 140, fig. 208. For other meanings of the seal of Solomon, see Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough, Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period, 2 (New York, 1953), 153 ff.
- 29 Forrer, Panopolis, pl. 12 (fig. 8). For the palm as a symbol of victory as well as a symbol of resurrection, see Jean Danielou, Les symboles chrétiens primitifs (Paris, 1961), pp. 9–31; for other symbols and geometric patterns, see various early Christian bread stamps in the



Notes to Pages 42-46

- Collection A. de Waal in Campo santo teutonico, Rome, reproduced in Dölger, *Antike*, pl. 8; cf. also Albert Jean Gayet, *L'Art copte* (Paris, 1902), pp. 88, 89, 99.
- 30 Wulff, Altchr. Bildwerke, 1, pl. 12 (fig. 316); for another example, see Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Frühchristlich-byzantinische Sammlung (Berlin, 1964), fig. 11 (no. 63), p. 60.

31 E. R. Goodenough, "An Early Christian Bread Stamp," Harvard Theological Review, 57 (1964), 133-137, esp. 135.

- 32 For the Louvre stamp, see Etienne Coche de la Ferté, L'antiquité chrétienne au Musée du Louvre (Paris, 1958), no. 27, pp. 35, 98, 99. P. Bellarmino Bagatti, L'archeologia cristiana in Palestina (Florence, 1962), p. 140, discusses the dove plaques.
- 33 Dalton, Calalogue, no. 918.
- Dmitry Vasil'evich Ainalov, The Hellenistic Origins of Byzantine Art, ed. C. Mango (New Brunswick, N.J., 1960), p. 256.
- 35 Dalton, Catalogue, no. 922.
- 36 See for example the panel of a diptych from Murano, now in Ravenna, reproduced in der Meer, *Atlas*, p. 112, fig. 334.
- 37 An example can be furnished by the so-called mausoleum of Galla Placidia, in Ravenna; see der Meer, *Atlas*, p. 144, fig. 468.
- 38 For an example of representations of bread in Communion scenes, see Earl Baldwin Smith, Early Christian Iconography and the School of Provence (Princeton, 1918), p. 137, fig. 128. Cf. J. Baum, Die symbolischen Darstellungen der Eucharistie (Zurich, 1945; offprint from Eranos-Jahrbuch, 1944, pp. 327-346); A. M. de Waal, Eucharist: Denkmäler in der römischen Katakomben (Kempten, 1906); Bagatti, L'archeologia, p. 139.
- 39 Rudolf Noll, Vom Altertum zum Mittelalter: Spätantike, altchristliche, völkerwanderungszeitliche und frühmittelalterliche Denkmäler der Antikensammlung, Führer durch das Kunsthistorische Museum, no. 8 (Vienna, 1958), no. 67, p. 36.
- 40 Dölger, Antike, pp. 29, 30; idem, Fischsymbol, 2, 500.
- 41 Raffaele Garrucci, Storia dell'arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della chiesa, 2 (Prato, 1873), pl. 2; for a new reproduction in color, see André Grabar, Le premier art chrétien (Paris, 1966), fig. 82.

Chapter 3

- H. Leclercq, "Messe; les liturgies d'Orient," in DACL, 11, pt. 1, cols. 631-638.
- 2 The bibliography is immense. Fundamental is Dix, Shape; see also Benedict Steuart, The Development of Christian Worship (London, 1953), and sources cited in n. 63 below.

- The text of Justin has been published and discussed repeatedly. It can be found with other liturgical texts in Johannes Quasten, Monumenta eucharistica et liturgica vetustissima, Florilegium patristicum, fasc. VII, pt. 1 (Bonn, 1935), pp. 18ff.; Joachim Beckmann, Quellen zur Geschichte des christlichen Gottesdienstes (Gütersloh, 1956), pp. 4-6; Steuart, Christian Worship, pp. 16ff.; Trempelas, Archai, pp. 143ff. For further bibliography, see J. Quasten, Patrology, 1 (Utrecht and Westminster, Md., 1950), 218, 219.
- 4 Trempelas, Archai, pp. 204, 205.
- 5 Ibid., p. 171; Dix, Shape, p. 125.
- 6 Trempelas, Archai, pp. 189-193.
- 7 Cf. James Herbert Srawley, The Early History of the Liturgy, 2d ed. (Cambridge, 1947), pp. 214ff.; Abbé Martigny, Dictionnaire des antiquités chrétiennes (Paris, 1877), p. 561.
- 8 Dix, Shape, p. 172.
- 9 Epiphanius of Cyprus, Anchoratus 57. 3-5, in K. Holl, ed., Epiphanius, Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte no. 25, vol. r (Leipzig, 1915), pp. 66, 67; cf. also PL, 78, 550.
- Dölger, Antike, pp. 33 ff.; cf. also Cyril of Jerusalem, Catechesis mystagogica, IV and V, in PG, 33, 1097 ff., 1109 ff.
- François Halkin, Sancti Pachomii vitae graecae, Subsidia Hagiographica, no. 19 (Brussels, 1932), p. 60.
- 12 "Oportet ut panis eucharisticus non coquatur quam in furno Ecclesiae, sed neque pinset eum aut coquet femina: qui contra fecerit excommunicetur" (Eusèbe Renaudot, Liturgiarum orientalium collectio, 1 [Paris, 1716], 189).
- 13 J. D. Mansi, ed., Sacrorum consiliorum nova et amplissima collectio, 31 vols. (Florence, 1759–1798; reprint 1900-), 12, cols. 73–74.
- Brightman, Liturgies, pp. 247-249; King, Eastern Rites, 2, 307; see also the Form for the Preparation of the Eucharistic Bread among the Syrian Jacobites (West Syrians), the translation of which can be found in Woolley, Bread, pp. 62-78; Fr. Dunkel and A. Rücker, "Die eucharistischen Opfergaben in der orientalischen Kirche," Das heilige Land, 69-70 (1925-1926), 215, 216; cf. Francesco de Berlendi, Delle oblazioni all' altare, 2d ed. (Venice, 1736), pp. 7, 8.
- 15 Anastasios Orlandos, Μοναστηριακή ἀρχιτεκτονική, 2d ed. (Athens, 1958), p. 71, figs. 95, 96.
- 16 G. Paraskevopoulos, Έρμηνευτική ἐπιστασία ἐπὶ τῆς θείας λειτουργίας (Patras, 1958), pp. 25–27, 245.
- 17 PG, 25, 268-269; 72, 275; Trampelas, Typoi, p. 89.
- 18 Cf. Srawley, Early History of the Liturgy, pp. 217ff.
- 19 Wulff, Altchr. Bildwerke, 1, pl. 52 (no. 898).

- 20 I am greatly indebted to Mr. M. C. Ross, Curator of Hillwood, Washington, D.C., who brought these stamps to my attention.
- Dölger, Antike, p. 10, pl. 1 (fig. 4). It seems that the collection was destroyed in World War II.
- 22 Wulff, Altchr. Bildwerke, 1, 192.
- 23 Cf. F. J. Dölger, "Unser tägliches Brot," in Antike und Christentum: Kultur und religionsgeschichtliche Studien, 5 (Münster in Westfalen, 1936), 201–202.
- 24 Trempelas, Treis, p. 128.
- 25 P. Perdrizet, "YΓΙΑ ΖωΗ ΧΑΡΑ," Revue des études grecques, 27 (1914), 266-280.
- 26 Dalton, Catalogue, no. 491; cf. Strzygowski, Kopt. Kunst, no. 9177, p. 305.
- 27 Deonna, ASA, n.f. 21, 94, 95.
- 28 Dölger, Antike, pp. 5ff., 10 (for criticism of Deonna's attributions).
- 29 In general, see H. Leclercq, "Semele," in DACL, 15, pt. 1, cols. 1185-86.
- 30 Didascalia et Constitutiones apostolorum, ed. F. X. Funk (Paderborn, 1905), 2, 176.
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 Ibid., pp. 190, 192.
- A. Becker, "Ein neuer christlichen Brotstempel," Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, 23 (1925), 160; Dölger, Antike, pp. 17-20; F. Sprater, Frühchristliche Denkmäler aus der Pfalz (Landau, 1947); E. Eckstein and Th. Klauser, "Brotstempel," in RAC, 2, cols. 630-631; Adrian, Halm und Glut, p. 96.
- The best other parallel was a bronze Roman stamp in the British Museum, London, with the Latin inscription EDEI VIVAS, which can be located no longer. See British Museum, Dept. Greek and Roman Antiquities, A Guide to the Exhibition Illustrating Greek and Roman Life (London, 1908), pp. 168, 169.
- 35 Dölger, Antike, pp. 18-20.
- For an example, see a cross in a five-part diptych, dating from A.D. 420, in the Milan cathedral, reproduced in der Meer, Atlas, p. 81, fig. 203.
- 37 Forrer, Panopolis, p. 15; see also Deonna, ASA, n.f. 21, 91, fig. 4.
- 38 André Grabar, Les ampoules de Terre Sainte (Paris, 1958), pls. 23, 25.
- 39 Wilpert, Fractio Panis, p. 85.
- 40 A. Furtwängler, Die Bronzen und die übrigen kleineren Funde von Olympia (Olympia, ed. E. Curtius and F. Adler, vol. 4, Berlin, 1890), no. 1366 a, p. 212. Other reported stamps have the following inventory numbers: TC 1824, 1825, 9811.
- 41 Wulff, Altchr. Bildwerke, 1, pl. 70 (no. 1422); L. Poinssot and R. Lan-

- tier, "Trois objets chrétiens du Musée du Bardo," Revue archéologique, 27 (1928), 82.
- 42 For the eucharistic symbolism of the stag, see H. Ch. Puech, "Le cerf et le serpent: Note sur le symbolisme de la mosaique découverte au baptistère de l'Henchir Messaouda," Cahiers archéologiques, 4 (1949), 21 ff. See also H. Leclercq, "Cerf," in DACL, 2, pt. 2, cols. 3302-7.
- 43 Poinssot and Lantier, in *Revue archéologique*, 27, 75 ff., fig. 4; cf. Puech, in *Cahiers archéologiques*, 4, 21 ff.
- Wilpert, Fractio Panis, pp. 10ff. Cf. also the same symbols in the crypt of Lucina in the catacomb of Callistus, Rome; J. Baum, Die symbolischen Darstellungen der Eucharistie (Zurich, 1945; offprint from Eranos-Jahrbuch, 1944, pp. 327-346), passim. For reproductions in color of these two frescoes, see André Grabar, Le premier art chrétien (Paris, 1966), figs. 82, 110. For the significance of the catacomb of Pricilla, see P. A. Février, "La Catacombe de Priscille et l'origine des catacombes," Cahiers archéologiques, 11 (1960), 1-14.
- The original Greek text from which the translation is made is to be found in Willy Lüdtke and Theodor Nissen, Die Grabschrift des Aberkios (Leipzig-Berlin, 1910), pp. 40, 41. See also A. Ferrua and D. Baldoni, Epitaphium Abercii (Fano, 1953). For more recent bibliography on the inscription, see H. Strathmann and Th. Klauser, "Aberkios," in RAC, I, cols. 12-17. Cf. the inscription of Pectorius of Autum, in M. Guarducci, "Nuove osservazioni sull iscrizione eucaristica di Pektorios," Rendiconti della Pont. Accad. Rom. di Archeologia (1947-1949), pp. 243 ff.; for the eucharistic symbolism of the fish, see Dölger, Fischsymbol, 2, 457 ff.; idem, Die Eucharistie nach Inschriften frühchristlichen Zeit (Münster in Westfalen, 1922), pp. 10ff., 42ff.; Orazio Marucchi, Manuale di archeologia cristiana (Rome, 1933), pp. 307 ff.
- 46 For the Münster stamp, see Dölger, Antike, p. 11, pl. 1 (fig. 6). For other examples, see Wulff, Altchr. Bildwerke, 1, pl. 70 (nos. 1410, 1411); Dölger, Fischsymbol, 3, pl. 78 (fig. 4).
- 47 Wilpert, Fractio Panis, pp. 15, 40ff.; cf. Srawley, Early History of the Liturgy, pp. 22ff. According to Dix, Shape, pp. 96-102, the event had occurred by A.D. 100.
- 48 Wulff, Altchr. Bildwerke, I, pl. 70 (no. 1436).
- 49 R. Jurlaro, "Nuovi stampi eucaristici dal Salento," Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata, n.s. 16 (1963), 151, 153, figs. 5, 7.
- 50 Dalton, Catalogue, no. 974.
- 51 Strzygowski, *Kopt. Kunst*, p. 232, pl. 22 (no. 9895); cf. Jurlaro, in *Boll. Bad. Grott.*, n.s. 16, 148n6.
- 52 Jurlaro, in Boll. Bad. Grott., n.s. 16, 148-156.
- 53 Ibid., p. 148.

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54 Ibid., pp. 154, 155.

55 R. Jurlaro, "Tre stampi eucaristici inediti a Brindisi," Boll. Bad. Grott., n.s. 15 (1961), 77-82.

For bibliography on the Byzantine liturgies, see below, n. 63. An English translation of the text of the Divine Liturgy with an excellent introduction can be found in J. M. Hussey and P. A. McNulty, trans., Nicholas Cabasilas: A Commentary on the Divine Liturgy (London, 1960), pp. 1-22; the treatise of Cabasilas, a layman who wrote in the fourteenth century, is most important to an understanding of the meaning of the liturgy. For another translation of the liturgy, see The Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius, The Orthodox Liturgy (London, 1939; several reprints). A concise presentation of the liturgy can be found in Timothy Ware, The Orthodox Church (London, 1963), pp. 286-295; also Hans Joachim Schulz, Die byzantinische Liturgie (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1964).

57 'Τὸ γοῦν προσαγόμενον πολλοῖς ὀνόμασι ὀνομάζεται. Καλεῖται γὰρ εὐλογία, προσφορά, ἀπαρχή, ἄρτος' (Pseudo-Sophronius of Jerusalem, PG, 87, pt. 3, 3989). For other references, see R. P. Jacobus Goar, Εὐχολόγιον, 2d ed. (Venice, 1730), pp. 99 ff.; also Pseudo-Germanus of Constantinople, PG, 98, 397; Symeon of Thes-

salonica (ca. 1430), PG, 155, 264ff.

- 58 For details of the celebration of the Holy Communion according to the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, see Goar, Εὐχολόγιον, pp. 51 ff., 85 ff. Also Pseudo-Sophronius of Jerusalem, PG, 87, pt. 3, 3989; Pseudo-Germanus of Constantinople, PG, 98, 397; Symeon of Thessalonica, PG, 155, 264 ff.; Nicholas Cabasilas, PG, 150, 380 ff.; for manuscripts referring to the Proskomide, see Brightman, Liturgies, pp. 544, 545; important also is a document published by V. Laurent, "Le rituel de la proskomide et la métropolite de Crète Elie," Mélanges S. Salaville, Revue des études byzantines, 16 (1958), 116-142; cf. also S. Petrides, "La Préparation des oblats dans le rite grec," Echos d'Orient, 3 (1899-1900), 65 ff.
- 59 PG, 155, 166.
- 60 Brightman, Liturgies, p. 534n24; Trempelas, Treis, p. 131.

61 Hussey and McNulty, Cabasilas, pp. 3, 18.

62 The information in this section comes mostly from liturgical manuscripts found in Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie*, 2, 119, 121, 613, 614, and in Trempelas, *Treis*.

63 P. de Meester, "Les origines et les développements du texte grec de la liturgie de S. Jean Chrysostome," Χρυσοστομικά, Studi e recerche intorno a S. Giovanni Crisostomo a cura del comitato per il XV centenario della sua morte 407-1907 (Rome, 1908), p. 305; A. Raes, "L'Authenticité de la liturgie byzantine de S. Jean Chrysostome," Orientalia christiana periodica, 2 (1958), 5-16; Schulz, Byzantinische Liturgie pp. 24-

28; J. Mateos, "Evolution historique de la liturgie de S. Jean Chrysostome," Proche-Orient Chrétien, 15 (1965), 333-351; 16 (1966), 3-18, 133-161. Hans-Georg Beck, Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinische Reich, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, vol. 12, pt. 2, sec. I (Munich, 1959), p. 242 (here the more comprehensive bibliography). For the oldest Latin versions of the Byzantine liturgies, see Anselm Strittmater, "Missa Grecorum," Missa Sancti Johannis Crisostomi: The Oldest Latin Version Known of the Byzantine Liturgies of St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom, 2d ed., Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgicae, Sectio historica, vol. 13 (Rome, 1941); for the relationship of the Byzantine Liturgy to the old rite of Antioch, see M. H. Shepherd, Ir., "The Formation and Influence of the Antiochene Liturgy," Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 15 (1961), 23-44; this article was brought to my attention by Prof. Downey. For bibliography on other eastern liturgies, see J. M. Sauget, Bibliographie des liturgies orientales, 1900-1960 (Rome, 1962).

- 64 Brightman, Liturgies, pp. 527 ff.; Trempelas, Typoi, pp. 324 ff. (here further bibliography); idem, Treis, p. ka.
- 65 Trempelas, Treis, p. 18.
- 66 Brightman, Liturgies, pp. 539ff.
- 67 Trempelas, Treis, pp. 148-150.
- The Rossano miniature has been reproduced several times; a conveniently accessible reproduction can be found in der Meer, Atlas, figs. 428, 429. Other good examples are the silver paten from Riha in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Washington, D.C., and later representations of the Communion of the Apostles; see Ross, D.O. Collection, no. 10, pl. 11 (fig. 10) and in general Klaus Wessel, Abendmahl und Apostelkommunion (Recklinghausen, 1964).
- 69 Dölger, Antike, pp. 22, 23.
- 70 PG, 48, 826; cf. Trempelas, Treis, p. 135.
- 71 ''Τὸ δὲ σφραγίζεσθαι τὴν προσφορὰν ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος παρέδωκεν'' (PG, 87, pt. 3, 3989).
- 72 Dölger, Antike, p. 25.
- 73 Ibid., pp. 22, 23ff.
- 74 King, Eastern Rites, 2, 155; cf. S. Salaville, "Messe et Communion d'après les Typika monastiques byzantines du Xe au XIVe siècle," Orientalia christiana periodica, 13 (1947), 282-298.

75 Trempelas, Treis, p. 134.

- 76 Cf. Nicolas III Grammaticus, "Περὶ τοῦ πῶς ὀφείλει ποιεῖν ἱερέα τὴν προσκομιδήν," in Mai, Bibliothecae, 10, 111, 112; F. de Waal, "Brot, eucharistiches," in Franz Xaver Kraus, Real-Encyklopädie der christlichen Altertümer, 1 (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1880), 172–175.
- 77 Trempelas, Treis, pp. 224, 225.
- 78 King, Eastern Rites, 2, 153.

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- 79 Dmitrievskij, Opisanie, 3, 117, 118.
- 80 Ibid., 2, 602ff.
- 81 Mai, Bibliothecae, 10, 111, 112; Dmitrievskij, Opisanie, 2, 263.
- 82 Dmitrievskij, Opisanie, 3, 185.
- 83 Marie Joseph Lagrange, Saint Etienne et son sanctuaire à Jérusalem (Paris, 1894), pp. 135, 136 and fig.; also Vincent and Abel, Jérusalem, 2, fasc. IV, pp. 780 ff., and pl. 79 (fig. 9).
- 84 Forrer, Panopolis, p. 14; Deonna, ASA, n.f. 21, 93; Dölger, Fisch-symbol, 1, 212; idem, Antike, p. 23.
- 85 Alessandro Palma di Cesnola, Salaminia (Cyprus), 2d ed. (London, 1884), pp. 107, 108, fig. 117; Dalton, Catalogue, no. 973.
- 86 Cf. Dölger, Antike, pp. 22–26; Gustaf Emanuel Aulén, Christus Victor, trans. A. G. Hebert (London, 1931).
- 87 Jurlaro, in Boll. Bad. Grott., n.s. 15, 77-82.
- 88 Cf., for example, another stamp, found at Tauric Chersonese (discussed below), which on archaeological evidence can be dated in the fifth or sixth century.
- 89 King, Eastern Rites, 2, 153.
- 90 Jean Baptiste Pitra, Spicilegium Solesmense, complectens Sanctorum Patrum scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum anecdota, 4 (Paris, 1858), 470, 471." Περὶ τοῦ πῶς ὀφείλει ποιεῖν ἱερέα τὴν προσκομιδήν. ('Αρά)μενος πρώτην προσφορὰν τῶν τετάρτων ... (σφραγίζει) διὰ τὴν λόγχην ἐπάνω τὸν (σταυρὸν π)οιῶν λέγων τὸν στίχον εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ. ... Πηγνύει τῆ λόγχη καὶ ἐκβάλλει τὴν πρώτην σφραγῖδα ἤτε τετράγωνον ἤτε στρογγύλην καὶ λέγει... Πρὸς δὲ τὴν δευτ(έραν προσφορὰν) ὀφείλει ἄρειν ἄλλη σφραγῖδα ... Μαρίας, τρίτην τῶν ἐπουρανίων'' (Mai, Bibliothecae, 10, 111–112).
- 91 Mai, Bibliothecae, 10, 111.
- 92 ''τρισάκις μὲν τῆ λόγχη σταυροῦσι τὸν ἄρτον ἐπιφωνοῦντες τὸ—τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὅνομα τοῦ τυθέντος ὑπὲρ τῆς κόσμου σωτηρίας. Εἴτα τετραγωνειωδῶς τὴν σφραγῖδα ἀποδιαιροῦσι, εἴπερ τὸ βῆμα μὲν μή περιφέρη πλῆθος ἱερουργούντων ἐντός. Εἰ δ'εἴη πλῆθος, στρογγυλοειδῶς τὴν ὅλην ὄψιν τῆς ἀναφορᾶς ἀφαιροῦσι'' (Mai, Bibliothecae, 10, 153, 168).
- 93 Laurent, in Revue des études byzantines, 16, 116-142, esp. 129, 130.
- 94 P. B. Bagatti, "Scavo di un monastero al Dominus Flevit," Liber Annuus, Studii Biblici Franciscani, 6 (1955–1956), 256, 257; idem, "Pane azimo e pane fermentato," La Terra Santa, 1959, pp. 43, 44; idem, L'archeologia cristiana in Palestina (Florence, 1962), pp. 139, 259, fig. 18 (no. 6).
- 95 Cf. King, Eastern Rites, 2, 120ff.
- 96 For references in later manuscripts, see King, Eastern Rites, 2, 209; Trempelas, Treis, p. 38. For the gold amulet, see Manolis Chatzidakis

- et al., Collection Hélène Stathatos: Les objets byzantins et post-byzantins (Limoges, 1957), no. 34.
- 97 Jurlaro, in Boll. Bad. Grott., n.s. 15, 77-82.
- 98 Brightman, Liturgies, pp. 542, 543.
- 99 Hussey and McNulty, Cabasilas, pp. 33-38, extracts reprinted here with kind permission of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. For a French translation and important supplementary notes, see Nicholas Cabasilas, Explication de la Divine Liturgie, trans. S. Salaville, 2d ed. (Paris, 1967). Cf. Schulz, Byzantinische Liturgie, pp. 202-212.
- 100 PG, 155, 268.
- 101 ''σφραγίζει τοῦτον [τὸν ἄρτον] μετὰ τῆς λόγχης σταυροειδῶς, τὸ σωτήριον πάθος ἐξεικονίζων Χριστοῦ'' (*PG*, 155, 264).
- 102 'Έἶτα διὰ τῆς λόγχης . . . ἀνατέμνει ἐν τῆ σφραγῖδι τετραμερῶς τὴν προσφοράν' (PG, 155, 246).
- 103 "Μετὰ τὸ ὑψῶσαι τὸν θεῖο Φἄρτον καὶ τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις ἐπιφωνηθεῖναι, κατακλᾶ τοῦτον ὁ ὑψῶν εἰς τέσσαρα καθώς κεχαραγμένος" (Mai, Bibliothecae, 10, 171).
- 104 ''Τετραμερὴς δὲ ὁ ἄρτος, ἀλλ οὐ κυκλοτερὴς τε καὶ ἄζυμος. . . . Τὰ μὲν τῆς οἰκονομίας τοῦ Σωτῆρος τέλεια ἐν τῷ ἄρτῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ σχήματι αὐτοῦ τετραμερῆ ὄντι καθορᾶται'' (PG, 155, 267, 268).
- 105 PG, 155, 164, 268. Hanssens, Institutiones, 3, 310, also proposes this interpretation.
- 106 PG, 155, 265.
- 107 ''Τὰ δὲ τῆς θεότητος ἐν τῆ τοῦ ἄρτου σφραγῖδι, ῆτις κυκλοειδής ἐστι, καὶ μέσον ταύτης ὁ σταυρός . . . τὸν ἄναρχόν τε καὶ ἀτελεύτητον Λόγον σεσαρκωμένον πάντων ὁμοῦ δεικνύντων, καὶ Θεὸν ὅντα . . . καὶ ἐν μορφῆ ἀνθρώπου γενόμενον. Διὸ οὐ χρὴ μόνον εἰκονίζειν τὰ τῆς θεότητος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος'' (PG, 155, 268).
- 108 *PG*, 155, 279, 286.
- 109 Jurlaro, in Boll. Bad. Grott., n.s. 16, 155, 156, fig. 9.
- For the reading and translation of the inscription, I am indebted to my friend Professor J. A. Williams.
- III Vincent and Abel, Jérusalem, 2, fasc. IV, p. 780, pl. 79 (fig. 10).
- J. Germer-Durand, Un musée palestinien: Notice sur le musée archéologique de Notre Dame de France à Jerusalem (Paris, n.d.), p. 28, fig. 52. The same scholar also published a marble fragment with Latin crosses, found in the same area, and interpreted it as a mould for liturgical bread; see idem, "La Maison de Caiphe et l'église Saint Pierre à Jérusalem," Revue biblique, n.s. 11 (1914), 222-255, pl. 7; Vincent and Abel, Jérusalem, 2, fasc. III, p. 509. Recent photographs which I received through the kindness of Father Sebastian of the



Church of St. Peter and my friends Mr. and Mrs. L. Silverman have convinced me that the fragment is not a "moule" after all. There are several reasons to support this view, of which the most important are (1) if the design were to be completed the piece would have been far too large to be used for loaves of bread; (2) the back is chiseled with no particular care and reveals no handling.

113 Mai, Bibliothecae, 10, 96, 97; Hanssens, Institutiones, 3, 516; Brightman, Liturgies, pp. 62, 63; Trempelas, Typoi, pp. 203, 204.

- Oom Richard Hugh Connolly, trans., The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai (Cambridge, 1909), p. 23. For various views concerning the problem of the authenticity of the homily, see King, Eastern Rites, 2, 254-258, 261, 262. Later, Pseudo-Sophronius of Jerusalem also refers to the relation of the pieces of bread to the number of the receivers; see PG, 87, pt. 3, 3989.
- 115 Trempelas, Typoi, pp. 202, 357; idem, Treis, p. 150.

116 Trempelas, Typoi, pp. 102ff.

117 Hanssens, Institutiones, 3, 506.

For the history of the eastern Churches in general, see Donald Attwater, The Christian Churches of the East, 2 vols. (Milwaukee, 1947, 1948).

- For the Coptic stamps, see Woolley, Bread, p. 46; King, Eastern Rites, 1, 404, 405, 480; O. H. E. H. Burmester, "Rites and Ceremonies of the Coptic Church," Eastern Churches Quarterly, 6 (1948), 373-402; 8 (1949), 1-39; Dunkel and Rücker, in Das heilige Land, 69-70, 216, fig. 4.
- 120 Strzygowski, *Kopt. Kunst*, no. 8807, p. 139, fig. 206. It should be noted that on a Coptic eucharistic stamp in the Museo Sacro, Vatican (no. 3023), no inscription appears.

121 Dix, Shape, p. 547; Trempelas, Typoi, pp. 73, 74.

122 King, Eastern Rites, 1, 404, 405; Trempelas, Typoi, p. 77.

123 Dölger, Antike, pp. 28, 29.

For the Trisagion and its date, see Dix, Shape, p. 451; Trempelas, Typoi, p. 352.

125 Cf. Woolley, Bread, pp. 46, 47; Dölger, Antike, p. 27; Dunkel and Rücker, in Das heilige Land, 70, 216, 217, fig. 5.

Dunkel and Rücker, in Das heilige Land, 70, 214, 215, fig. 2a; H. W. Codrington, "Studies of the Syrian Liturgies," Eastern Churches Quarterly, 2 (1936–1937), 10–11, 26–28; for an illustration, see Dölger, Antike, pl. 4 (fig. 2); cf. ibid., pls. 5–7; for the Coptic and Syriac eucharistic bread, see also Ignatius Ephraem II Rahmani, Les liturgies orientales et occidentales (Beirut, 1829), pp. 63ff.

Woolley, Bread, pp. 57, 62-78; Dunkel and Rücker, in Das heilige Land, 70, 215, 216, fig. 3. For the Church of East Syrians, see in general Sévérien Salaville, Liturgies orientales: Notions générals (Rome, 1932), p. 18; Hanssens, Institutiones, 3, 623 ff.; King, Eastern Rites, 2, 251 ff.

128 Dunkel and Rücker, in Das heilige Land, 70, 214, 215, fig. 2b.

Another similar example containing four particles exists in the Benaki

Museum, Athens (case 197, no. 22).

G. Stuhlfauth, "Sphragis des griechisch-katholischen Abendmahlbrotes und das Dreieck," Byzantinische Zeitschrift, 40 (1940), 76 ff. Similar stamps or variants have been published in a poor article by M. Haberlandt, "Weihbrotstempel in den Balkanländern," Werke der Volkskunst (K. K. Museum für österreichische Volkskunde), 2 (1914), 82, 83, pl. 30.

131 G. Galavaris, "The Stars of the Virgin: An Ekphrasis of an Icon of the Mother of God," Eastern Churches Review, 1 (1967-1968), 364-

369.

132 Byzantine Art: An European Art, Catalogue of the 9th Exhibition of the Council of Europe, 2d ed. (Athens, 1964), pp. 263-264.

133 Mai, Bibliothecae, 10, 111; PG, 155, 279.

134 ''ἐκβαλὼν δὲ τὴν μεσαιτάτην μερίδα, τίθησιν αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ μέρη τοῦ ἄρτου'' (Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie*, 2, 602).

Chapter 4

- r Cf. A. Stuiber, "Brot," in RAC, 2, cols. 616-620; H. Leclercq, "Eulogie," "Pain," in DACL, 5, pt. 1, cols. 733-734; 13, pt. 1, cols. 436-461.
- 2 Leclercq, in DACL, 5, pt. 1, cols. 733-734.

3 F. Cabrol, "Eucharistie," in DACL, 5, pt. 1, cols. 686-692; Adolf Franz, Die kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter, 2 vols. (Freiburg

im Breisgau, 1909; reprint 1960).

Dölger, Antike, pp. 45, 46. According to Dix (Shape, pp. 21, 134), the practice of fermentum was followed in the East as well but was abolished before the fourth century. This is not a generally accepted view; see Trempelas, Agenda, p. 78. Nevertheless, in the East the dispatch of the Eucharist to long distances was forbidden by the Fourteenth canon of the Council of Laodicea (ca. 363); see Brightman, Liturgies, p. 521n13. Cf. also the letter of Pope Innocent I (d. 417) to the bishop of Gubbio, Ep. 25. 5, in PL, 20, 556.

5 "...panem unum sanctitati tuae unitatis gratia misimus, in quo etiam trinitatis soliditas continetur. Hunc panem eulogiam esse tu facies dignatione sumendi" (Ep. 3.6, in CSEL, vol. 29, Epistulae, ed. G. de Hartel [Vienna, 1894], pt. 1, p. 18). Also "...panem unum, quem unanimitatis indicis misimus caritati tuae rogamus accipiendo bene-

dicas" (Ep. 4.5, ibid., p. 24). Cf. Dölger, Antike, p. 44.

6 Franz, Kirchlichen Benediktionen, 1, 229 ff.

7 Cited by Dölger, Antike, p. 45.

8 Hans Achelis, Die ältesten Quellen des orientalischen Kirchenrechtes, I: Die Kanones Hippolyti, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, vol. 6, pt. 4 (Leipzig, 1891), pp. 108-110. For the origins of the Canons, see B. Botte, "L'Origine des canons d'Hippolyte," Mélanges en l'honneur de Mgr. M. Andrieu, Revue des sciences religieuses, vol. outside the series (Strasbourg, 1956), pp. 53-63. See also Dix, Shape, pp. 82, 83.

9 Dix, Shape, p. 87.

10 Ibid., pp. 85, 86. There exist variations of this account depending on the community and sources; see Trempelas, *Archai*, pp. 189–194.

II Dix, Shape, p. 82.

12 Achelis, Kanones Hippolyti, p. 110; Dix, Shape, pp. 82, 83; Trempelas, Archai, p. 191.

13 Dölger, Antike, pp. 28, 29.

14 Brightman, *Liturgies*, pp. 505, 508, 509, 519, 571; cf. de Fleury,

Messe, pp. 4, 5.

- 15 ''Τοιγάρτοι καὶ τοῖς μετασχεῖν ἐθέλουσιν εὐλογίας τῆς μυστικῆς οἱ τῶν θείων μυστηρίων προσφωνοῦσι λειτουργοί, τὰ ἄγια τοῖς ἁγίοις'' (com. to John 12, in *PG*, 74, 695, 696); see also com. to Luke 22:19, in *PG*, 72, 908; Brightman, *Liturgies*, pp. 508, 509.
- 16 Apostolic Constitutions, bk. 8, chap. 31, cited in Trempelas, Archai, p. 215; Dölger, Antike, pp. 45, 46.
- 17 For the western rites, see H. Leclercq, "Eulogie," in DACL, 5, pt. 1, cols. 733, 734; A. Stuiber, "Brot," in RAC, 2, col. 618. For eastern rites see Brightman, Liturgies, pp. 109-110, 304, 399, 457 (for Syrian Jacobite, Nestorian, Byzantine, and Armenian rites, respectively), and 577 (where, under the heading eulogia, other rites and the terms used in other tongues are discussed).
- 18 A. Raes, "L'Antidoron," Proche-Orient Chrétien, 3 (1953), 6-13.

19 Ibid., p. 9. King, Eastern Rites, 2, 246.

20 Raes, in Proche-Orient Chrétien, 3, 6, 7, 12, 13.

- 21 Cf. Mai, Bibliothecae, 10, 111, 112; PG, 138, 944, 948, 949. In liturgical texts the Host is often called μερὶς ἀγιασμάτων, ἀγία μερίς Χριστοῦ; see R.P. Jacobus Goar, Εὐχολόγιον, 2d ed. (Venice, 1730), p. 158.
- 22 '''Ερώτησις 10. Τοὺς κεκωλυμένους ἀπὸ τῆς ἁγίας δωρεᾶς εἰ χρὴ ἐσθίειν ὑψωμένας προσφοράς. 'Απόκρ. Εὐρίσκομεν ἐν τῷ βίῳ τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοδώρου τοὺς τοιούτους κεκωλυμένους. . . . 'Ερμην. Τὸ μέντοι μὴ λαμβάνειν κλάσμα ὑψωμένου ἄρτου τοὺς μεταλαμβάνειν κωλυθέντας θείων ἁγιασμάτων πραγματικῶς γινόμενον βλέπομεν. Νομίζω δὲ ὅτι αἱ γυναῖκες, κἄν κωλυθῶσι τῆς μεταλήψεως τῶν ἁγιασμάτων, οὐκ ἐμποδισθήσονται λαμβάνειν κλάσμα ὑψωμένου ἄρτου'' (PG, 138, 948, 949).

23 Cf. Trempelas, Treis, p. 225.

24 Κανών 13. Τὴν ὑψωθεῖσαν προσφορὰν οὐδεὶς φαγὼν ἄψηται ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀλλὰ οἱ νήστιες ὄντες δαπανήσουσιν ταύτην ἐν φόβω καὶ [μετὰ] προσευχῆς πολλῆς μὴ πως ἐξ ἀμελείας (ἤ) καταφρονήσεως ἐξ αὐτῆς τὶ ἐν τῷ ἐδάφει [ρίψη], καὶ ἔσονται κατάκριτοι ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀλλ'οὐδὲ ἔξω τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἁγίας ἐκκλησίας ἐξέλθοι, εἰ μὴ εἰς ἄρρωστον.

Κανών 14. 'Ο δὲ μετὰ τὴν σφραγισθεῖσαν εἰς τὴν τιμὴν τῆς Παναγίας Θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας μόνης βρωθήσεται, μὴ μετὰ κρέατος ἥ γάλακτος, τυροῦ καὶ ώῶν μιγείς· τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς καὶ αὐτὰς τὰς προσκομιθεῖσας πρὸς ἑκταῖον δεῖ μὴ εἰς διατροφὴν ζώου ἤ οὐδὲ τινος παρέχειν· ὀφείλει δὲ ὁ ἱερεὺς διακρίνειν τὰς τῶν ἀγίων καὶ τὰς τῶν ζώντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τεθνεώτων· ἀλλά καὶ κατὰ τὸν λαὸν καὶ ἄγια προστίθησι. Cf. also Κανών 20. Τοὺς κεκωλυμένους τῆς ἀγίας δωρεᾶς εὕρομεν ἐν τῷ βίω τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Θεοδώρου τοῦ Συκαιότου, ὡς οὐκ ἀξίους ἐσθίειν προσφορὰν ὑψουμένην, καὶ καλῶς ἔχειν'' Jean Baptiste Pitra, Spicilegium Solesmense, complectens Sanctorum Patrum scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum anecdota, 4 (Paris, 1858), 470, 471, 473, 479.

25 See a discussion of the relation between the antidoron and the pagan hygicia in Dölger, *Antike*, pp. 5-9; cf. also Deonna, *ASA*, n.f. 21, 89 ff.;

Raes, in Proche-Orient Chrétien, 3, 13.

26 PG, 137, 1281; 138, 968, 969; Raes, in Proche-Orient Chrétien, 3, 8.

27 ''Εἶτα καὶ τὸν προσενεχθέντα ἄρτον, ἐξ οὖ τὸν ἱερὸν [ὁ ἱερεύς] ἀπέτεμε ἄρτον, εἰς πολλὰ διελών, μεταδίδωσιν τοῖς πιστοῖς, ὡς ἄγιον γενόμενον αὐτῷ τῷ ἀνατεθῆναι θεῷ καὶ ἱερωθῆναι'' (PG, 150, 489; cf. cols. 380, 381). See also the English translation by J. M. Hussey and P. A. McNulty, Nicholas Cabasilas: A Commentary on the Divine Liturgy (London, 1960), pp. 119, 120, and passim.

28 PG, 155, 301, 361, 633; Raes, in Proche-Orient Chrétien, 3, 9.

29 ''Τὰ προσφερόμενα είς λόγον θυσίας, μετὰ τὰ ἀναλισκόμενα εἰς τὴν τῶν μυστηρίων χρείαν, οἱ κληρικοὶ διανειμάσθωσαν, καὶ μήτε κατηχούμενος ἐκ τούτων ἐσθιέτω ἤ πινέτω, ἀλλά μᾶλλον οἱ κληρικοὶ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς πιστοὶ ἀδελφοί'' (PG, 65, 41). See also Brightman, Liturgies, p. 506; Apostolic Constitutions, bk. 8, chap. 31, cited by Trempelas, Archai, p. 215; Trempelas, Treis, p. 157.

30 "Ή δὲ προσφορά, ἡ καὶ ἄρτος καὶ εὐλογία καὶ ἀπαρχὴ λεγομένη, ἐξ ῆς τὸ Κυριακόν σῶμα διατέμνεται, εἰς τύπον τῆς ᾿Αειπαρθένου καὶ Θεοτόκου λαμβάνεται, . . . οὕτω καὶ τὸ Κυριακὸν σῶμα ὡς ἔκ τινος κοιλίας καὶ σαρκός τοῦ παρθενικοῦ σώματος (τοῦ ὅλου ἄρτου, φημί, τῆς εὐλογίας καὶ τῆς προσφορᾶς) παρὰ τοῦ διακόνου, ὡς ἡ μεγάλη Ἐκκλησία παρέλαβε, διατέμνεται σιδήρω . . . καὶ . . . ἐκ μέσου ταύτης ἀφαιρεῖται. . . . Ἡ δὲ πνευματικὴ εὐλογία, καὶ ἡ ἄλλη τῶν ἀγαθῶν χορηγία, τῆ τῶν Χριστιανῶν γένει, ἐκ τῆς

Notes to Pages 123-132

- διανομῆς τοῦ ἄρτου τοῦ σώματος τῆς Θεοτόκου γίνεται καὶ πιστεύεται" (PG, 98, 397, 453). Cf. Theodore of Andida, PG, 140, 465; Brightman, Liturgies, p. 540.
- 31 Brightman, Liturgies, p. xciii.
- 32 '''Εν τῆ παραμονῆ τῶν Φώτων, μετὰ τὸ ἀπολῦσαι τήν θείαν λειτουργίαν, λαμβάνομεν τὴν εὐλογίαν εἶτα διακλυόμεθα μὲν οἱ κοινωνήσαντες, τὴν δὲ εὐλογίαν οὐκ ἐσθίομεν'' (PG, 99, 1717; cf. col. 1733).
- 33 Examples are cited by Brightman, Liturgies, p. 485.
- 34 PG, 93, 1729.
- 35 PG, 87, pt. 3, 2988.
- 36 See Vitalien Laurent, La Collection C. Orghidan (Paris, 1952), nos. 643, 640; Dalton, Catalogue, nos. 660 ff.
- 37 C. Wescher, "Un ipogeo cristiano antichissimo di Alessandria in Egitto," Bullettino di archeologia cristiana, 3 (1865), 57-61; G. B. de Rossi, "I simboli dell' Eucaristia nelle pitture dell' ipogeo scoperto in Alessandria d'Egitto," ibid., p. 74; Wilpert, Fractio Panis, p. 10; Earl Baldwin Smith, Early Christian Iconography and the School of Provence (Princeton, 1918), pp. 131, 132; PG, 13, 902.
- 38 For other objects used as eulogiae, see A. Xyngopoulos, "Εὐλογία τοῦ 'Αγίου Συμεών," Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, 18 (1948), 79–98; P. B. Bagatti, "Eulogie palestinensi," Orientalia christiana periodica, 15 (1949), 126–166; A. Marava-Hadjinikolaou, "Eulogie de Saint Mamas," Δελτίον Χριστιανικῆς 'Αρχαιολογικῆς 'Εταιρείας, period 4, 2 (1960–1961), 131–137; cf. P. Testini, Archeologia cristiana (Rome, 1958), p. 490.
- 39 '''Ως οὖν ἔφαγον καὶ ἐχορτάσθησαν, δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τρεῖς εὐλογίας ἴεστάς, καὶ αὐτὰς ὁμοίως ἐκ θεοῦ οὔσας, καὶ λέγει δὸς τῷ Σαλῷ, καὶ εἰπὲ αὐτῷ· ἐξ ἐμοῦ· διὰ τὸν Κύριον εὕχου τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου Ἰωάννη'' (PG, 93, 1729).
- 40 E. Michon, "La collection d'ampoules à eulogies du Musée du Louvre," Mélanges G. B. de Rossi, suppl. Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'Ecole française de Rome, no. 12 (1892), pp. 183-200.
- 41 Alison Frantz, The Middle Ages in the Athenian Agora, Excavations of the Athenian Agora, Picture Book no. 7 (Princeton, 1961), fig. 45.
- 42 Kazimierz Michalowski, *Palmyre*: Fouilles polonaises, 1962 (Warsaw, 1964), p. 184, fig. 214.
- 43 Ibid., pp. 27, 51.
- 44 Ross, D.O. Collection, no. 16, pl. 19 (fig. A, 2).
- 45 Ibid., nos. 14, 16, pls. 18 (fig. 14), 19 (fig. A, 2). Cf. M. Sulzberger, "Le Symbole de la croix et les monogrammes de Jésus chez les premiers Chrétiens," Byzantion, 2 (1925), 337–348.
- 46 For these examples, see der Meer, *Atlas*, pp. 140, 145, figs. 456, 470, 473.

- 47 André Grabar, Les ampoules de Terre Sainte (Paris, 1958), pls. 23, 25.
- 48 Der Meer, Atlas, p. 141, figs. 464, 465; Ihm, Apsismalerei, p. 89, fig. 23.
- 49 Ihm, Apsismalerei, pp. 90, 91, fig. 24.
- 50 Ibid., pp. 78, 79, 185, pl. 21 (fig. 10).
- 51 See a sarcophagus from ca. A.D. 350 in der Meer, *Atlas*, p. 143, figs. 466, 467.
- Dmitry Vasil'evich Ainalov, The Hellenistic Origins of Byzantine Art, ed. C. Mango (New Brunswick, N.J., 1960), p. 256.
- 53 For examples, see H. Leclercq, "Croix," in DACL, 3, pt. 2, cols. 3095-97.
- For the staurotheke and related problems, see Anatole Frolow, La Relique de la Vraie Croix (Paris, 1961); for the cross as a sign of triumph, see J. Gagé, ''Σταυρὸς Νικοποιός,'' Revue d'histoire de la philosophie religieuse, 13 (1933), 370-400; André Grabar, L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin (Paris, 1936), pp. 237 ff.; Johannes Kollwitz, Öströmische Plastik der theodosianischen Zeit, Studien zur Spätantiken Kunstgeschichte, no. 12 (Berlin, 1941), pp. 150 ff.; J. Vogt, ''Berichte über Kreuzeserscheinungen aus dem 4. Jahrh. nach Chr.,'' in Παγκάρπεια: Mélanges H. Gregoire, ed. J. Moreau (Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves, nos. 9, 12), vol. 1 (Brussels, 1949), pp. 593-606; Carlo Cecchelli, Il trionfo della croce (Rome, 1954).
- 55 Trempelas, Treis, pp. 158, 194.
- 56 Ibid., p. 158.
- 57 Brightman, Liturgies, pp. 13, 58, 66, and passim.
- 58 Trempelas, Agenda, p. 89. (Italics added.)
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- 60 A convenient translation with the Greek text on the opposite page can be found in the Faith Press edition of *The Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* (London, n.d.), p. 61.
- 61 Woolley, *Bread*, p. 45; cf. also F. Dunkel and A. Rücker, "Die eucharistischen Opfergaben in der orientalischen Kirche," *Das heilige Land*, 69–70 (1925–26), 214.
- 62 Woolley, Bread, p. 46.
- 63 Didascalia et Constitutiones apostolorum, ed. F. X. Funk (Padeborn, 1905), 2, 190, 192.
- 64 PG, 155, 661-669.
- 65 Bernard de Montfaucon, Analecta graeca (Paris, 1688), p. 215. The text has been reprinted in PG, 127, 985-1128; see esp. col. 1056.
- 66 Montfaucon, Analecta graeca, pp. 246 ff., 259; PG, 127, 1080, 1081.
- 67 ''Διδόσθαι καὶ εὐλογίας δύο εἰς δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν τῆς ὑπεραγίας μου Θεοτόκου'' (Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie, 1, 7*67).
- 68 B. Stephanides, "Λείψανον τῶν 'Αρχαίων 'Αγαπῶν ἐν τῆ' Ορθο-

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- 69 Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie*, 3, 424, 425; 2, 124. See also the description given by Symeon of Thessalonica, *PG*, 155, 617.
- 70 Dmitrievskij, Opisanie, 3, 23, 312.
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- 79 J. Ebersolt, "Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie byzantine," Revue d'histoire des religions, 76 (1917), 106-118.
- 80 Anastasios Orlandos, ed., Τὸ ἔργον τῆς ᾿Αρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας κατὰ τὸ 1959 (Athens, 1960), pp. 34ff., fig. 33.
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- 85 Cf. Grabar, Ampoules de Terre Sainte, p. 64.
- 86 For the celebration of the feast of St. Andrew in Byzantium, see C. Constantinides, "La Fête de l'apôtre saint André dans l'église de Constantinople à l'époque byzantine et au temps moderns," Mélanges en l'honneur de Mgr. M. Andrieu, Revue des sciences religieuses, vol. outside the series (Strasbourg, 1956), pp. 243–261. The Typikon entry reads: ""Αθλησις τοῦ 'Αγίου καὶ πανευφήμου 'Αποστόλου 'Ανδρέου ἀδελφοῦ Πέτρου τοῦ κορυφαίου τῶν 'Αποστόλων' (Dmitrievskii,

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- 87 See Adolf Goldschmidt and Kurt Weitzmann, Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X-XIII Jahrh., 2 (Berlin, 1934), no. 44, pp. 38, 39, pl. 19 (fig. 44).
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- 94 B. Stephanides, Ἐκκλησιαστική Ἱστορία (Athens, 1948), p. 291.
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- 104 Ihm, Apsismalerei, p. 89, pl. 21 (fig. 2).
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- 110 Ibid., p. 112, fig. 337.
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- 112 O. F. A. Meinardus, "Das Brot bei den Kopten," Brot und Gebäck (October 1964), with illustrations.
- For memoriae in the Early Christian world, see der Meer, Atlas, map 31; also Hippolyte Delehaye, Les origines du culte des martyrs (Brussels, 1933); André Grabar, Martyrium, 2 vols. and album (Paris, 1943-1946); Richard Krautheimer, "Mensa-Cometerium-Martyrium," Cahiers archéologiques, 11 (1960), 15-40.
- The ampulla with oil or earth from the Holy Land was one kind of souvenir the pilgrims carried from the shrines they had visited. The earth around the Holy Sepulcher was venerated specially. Its soil or dust could be placed in a pilgrim's flask and taken away as a eulogia; or a small sun-dried clay cake could be made of this holy earth in which the Lord had been buried and, according to Gregory of Tours, could be sent away as an aid for the healing of the sick. See H. Leclercq, "Annunciation," "Ampoules," in DACL, I, pt. 2, cols. 1722–47, 2260–61; Ainalov, Hellenistic Origins of Byzantine Art, pp. 230,

- 248; for other possible kinds of eulogiae, see Ross, D.O. Collection, nos. 13, 87, 88.
- For Christian banquets, see in general Alfred Stuiber, Refrigerium interim: Die Vorstellungen von Zwischenzustand und die frühchristliche Grabekunst, Theophaneia: Beiträge zur Religions- und Kirchengeschichte des Altertums, no. 11 (Bonn, 1957).
- 116 There are several examples of the establishment of saints' festivals prior to that of the great festivals. For instance, the first mention of a festival in memory of the Apostles Peter and Paul occurs in the Roman martyrology in the year 258, and the date of the institution of the Festival of Christmas remains a matter of controversy among scholars. The disagreements among the earliest sources and among scholars indicate that the early communities, and those of the second and third centuries, probably did not celebrate Christmas liturgically at all. Nonetheless, by the end of the fourth century, as one can deduce from the Apostolic Constitutions (bk. 7, chap. 23, bk. 8, chap. 33), the fundamental lines of the ecclesiastical year with reference to festivals had been laid. According to Stephanides (Ἐκκλησιαστική 'lστορία, p. 287), the celebration of Christmas on December 25 was introduced in Rome around the year 335, from where it spread to the West and the East; see also Louis Duchesne, Les Origines du culte chrétien, 2d ed. (Paris, 1898), pp. 248, 249. Another festival, that of the Transfiguration, was established sometime between the fifth and seventh centuries, while the festivals related to the cult of Mary have their beginnings perhaps in the fourth, but more probably in the fifth, century; see Cabrol, in DACL, 5, pt. 1, cols. 1415-24; 10, pt. 2, cols. 2035 ff.
- The Walters Art Gallery, Early Christian and Byzantine Art: An Exhibition Held at the Baltimore Museum of Art (Baltimore, 1947), no. 89, p. 37; here it is stated that the mould comes from Syria.
- 118 Vincent and Abel, Jérusalem, 2, fasc. I-II, pp. 208, 189, 213, 214.
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- 124 Vincent and Abel, Jérusalem, 2, fasc. I-II, p. 191.
- 125 For examples, see Conant and Downey, in Speculum, 31, 4-46.
- For interpretations suggested for the apse mosaic, see Dalton, Byzantine Art and Archaeology, pp. 335-337; Vincent and Abel, Jérusalem, 2, fasc. I-II, p. 199; Conant and Downey, in Speculum, 31, 6. For complete bibliography and a recent discussion, see Ihm, Apsismalerei, pp. 12 ff., 130 ff.
- Gustave Schlumberger, Sigillographie de l'orient latin, Haut commissariat de l'état français en Syrie et au Liban, Service des antiquités, Bibliothèque d'archéologie et d'histoire, Bulletin no. 38 (Paris, 1943), pl. 16 (fig. 1) and passim.
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- 132 Woolley, Bread, pp. 44ff.
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- 135 Carlo Pascal, Le credenze d'oltretomba nelle opere letterarie dell'antichità classica, 2d ed. (Turin, 1923).
- 136 A. M. Schneider, Refrigerium: I. Nach literalischen Quellen und Inschriften (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1928); André Parrot, Le "refrigerium"

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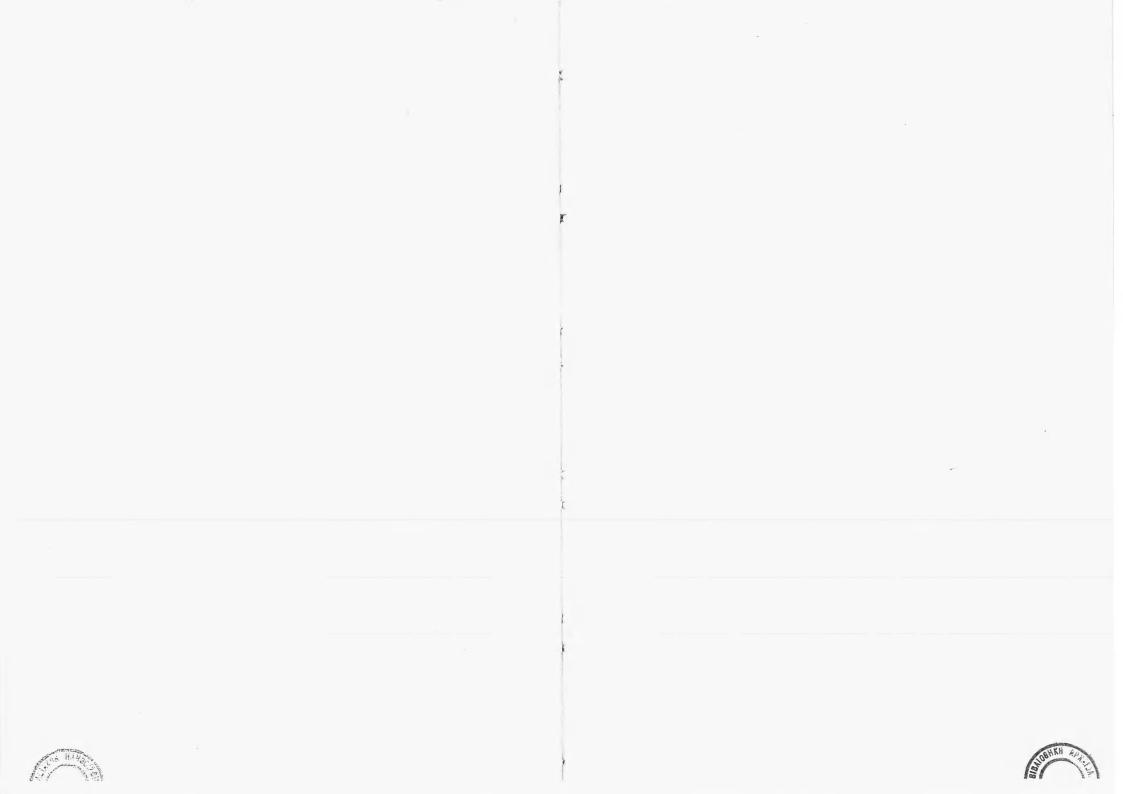
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